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CURRENT HISTORY

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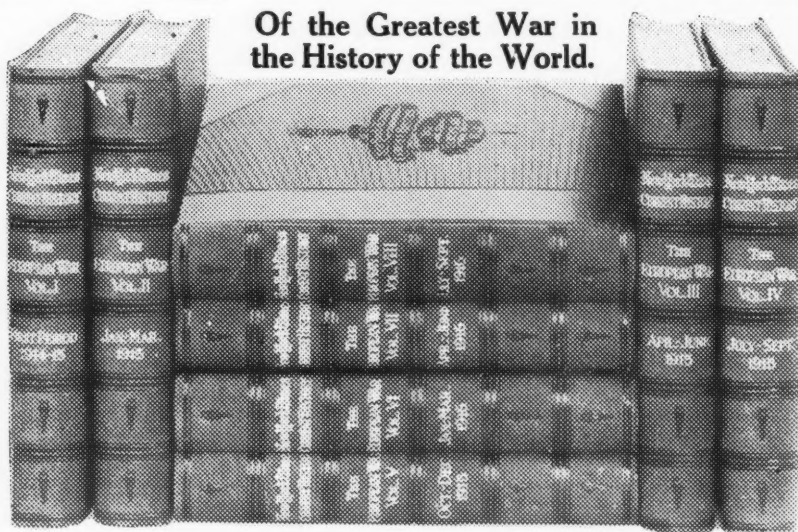
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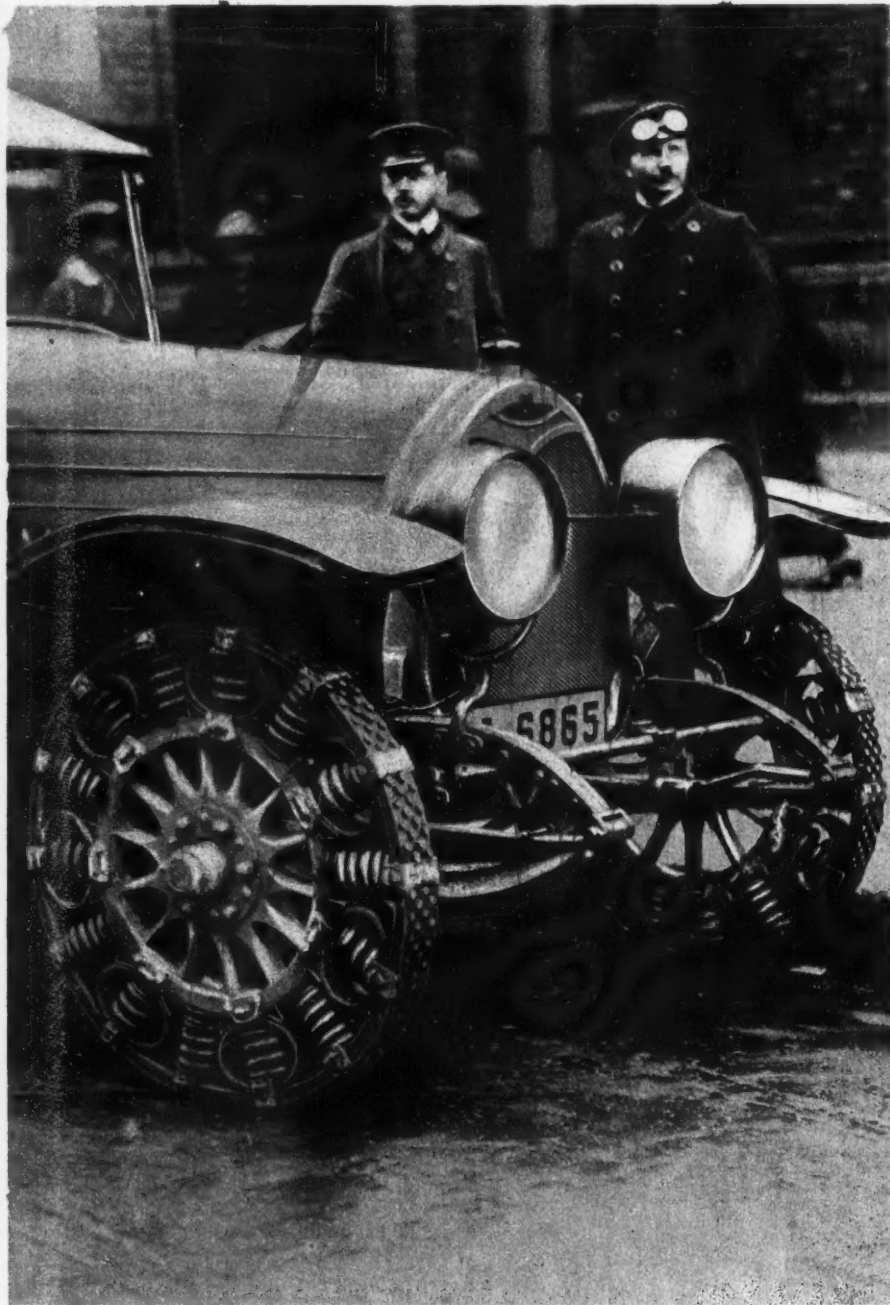
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GERMAN SOLDIER IN WINTER GARB



This German Sentinel on the Russian Front Is Dressed in the White Snow Mantle and Black Gas Mask Which Have Been in General Use During the Winter.

A GERMAN WAR INVENTION



**The Germans Are Now Using Automobile Wheels Made of
Steel Springs, Thus Overcoming the Shortage of
Rubber Caused by the British Blockade.**

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

NAVAL MILITAMEN GUARDING BROOKLYN BRIDGE



On the Severance of Diplomatic Relations with Germany, the Naval Militia and Two Regiments of the National Guard Were at Once Called Into Service to Protect the Bridges and Water Supply of New York City from Explosives.

(© American Press Association.)

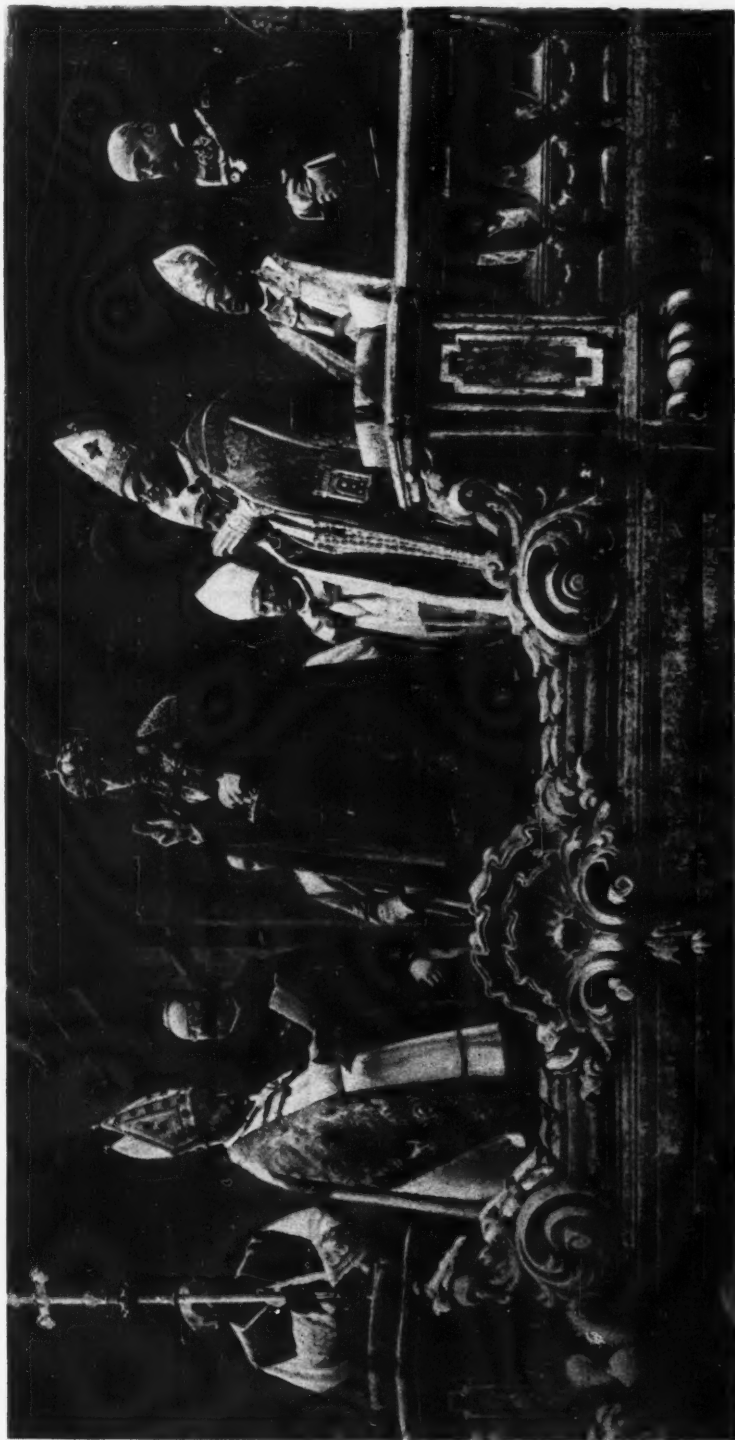
A FRENCH CHARGE ON THE SOMME VIEWED FROM THE AIR



A Remarkable Photograph of a French Attack on German Trenches in the Vicinity of Chaumes. It Was Taken by a French Aviator Flying Low Over the Battlefield.

(© American Press Association.)

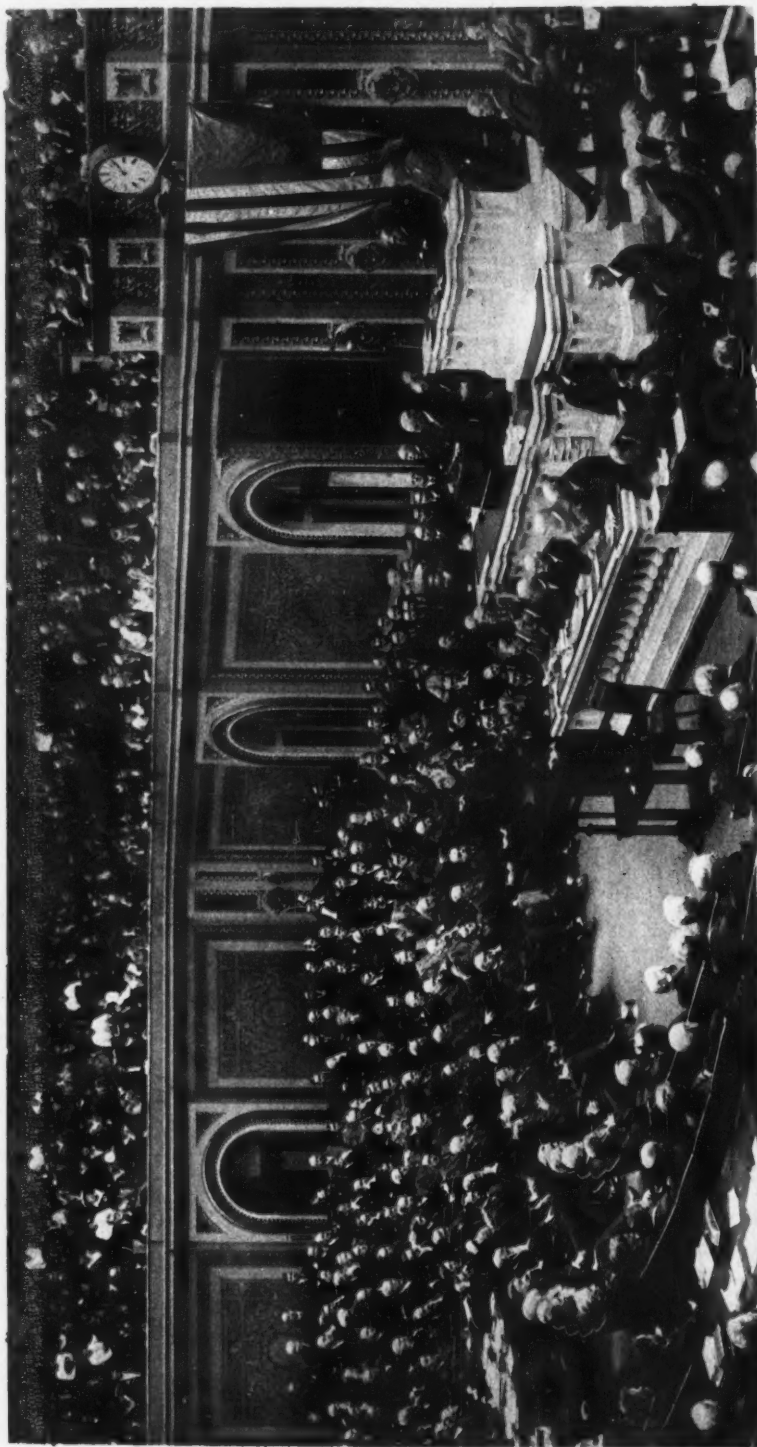
CORONATION OF KING CHARLES IV. OF HUNGARY



Emperor Charles I. of Austria-Hungary Was Crowned King of Hungary on Dec. 30, 1916, at Budapest.
The Prince Primate of Hungary, Johann Cardinal Czernoch, Is Seen Administering the
Oath, and on the Cardinal's Left Is Count Tisza, the Hungarian Premier.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

PRESIDENT WILSON ANNOUNCING TO CONGRESS THE BREAK WITH GERMANY



The President Appeared Before Congress in Joint Session on Feb. 3, at 2 o'clock, to Announce That Diplomatic Relations with Germany Had Been Severed by Reason of Germany's New Submarine Warfare.

(© G. V. Buck, from *Underwood & Underwood*.)

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

MARCH, 1917

THE BREAK WITH GERMANY

United States Severs Diplomatic Relations

THE United States severed diplomatic relations with the German Empire Feb. 3, 1917, by dismissing Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, giving him his passports, and recalling James W. Gerard, the American Ambassador at Berlin. This action was taken in consequence of a notice issued to the United States and all neutral countries by Germany on Jan. 31, 1917, announcing that, beginning on Feb. 1—the following day—merchant ships bound to or from allied ports would be sunk without warning. The notice stated that a “prohibited zone” had been mapped out by Germany, bordering Holland, England, and France, and including portions of the Mediterranean. In these areas of the high seas any vessels of any nation from any port would be sunk without warning by German submarines. In the note to the United States a “safety zone” consisting of a narrow lane leading to Falmouth, England, was designated, through which one American vessel a week, carrying passengers only, would be

permitted to proceed unmolested; provided, however, that there were no contraband aboard, and that the vessel be striped and conspicuously marked with colors according to a design outlined by the German Admiralty.

The notice from the German Empire burst upon the nations with startling suddenness at the moment when the Chancelleries of the world were expecting further moves by President Wilson to bring about a conference of the belligerents which might lead to peace. It produced a prodigious sensation and was recognized everywhere as the most momentous development since the initial declarations of war thirty months before; also as indicating that the struggle was entering a new epoch of frightfulness. Moreover, while it denoted in the judgment of many sound observers the final phases of the world conflict, the duration of which no one could yet foresee, a fear was entertained by many that before the end practically all the nations of earth would become involved in hostilities.

Text of Germany's “Barred Sea Zone” Note

FOLLOWING is the full text of the German submarine note handed to Secretary of State Lansing by the German Ambassador on Jan. 31, 1917, at 4 o'clock P. M.:

Washington, D. C., Jan. 31, 1917.

Mr. Secretary of State:

Your Excellency was good enough to transmit to the Imperial Government a copy of the message which the President of the United States of America addressed to the Senate on the 22d inst. The Imperial Government has given it the earnest consideration which the President's statements deserve, inspired, as they are, by a deep sentiment of responsibility.

It is highly gratifying to the Imperial Government to ascertain that the main tendencies of this important statement correspond largely to the desires and principles professed by Germany. These principles especially include self-government and equality of rights for all nations. Germany would be sincerely glad if, in recognition of this principle, countries like Ireland and India, which do not enjoy the benefits of political independence, should now obtain their freedom.

The German people also repudiate all alliances which serve to force the countries into a competition for might and to involve them in a net of selfish intrigues. On the other hand, Germany will gladly co-operate in all efforts to prevent future wars.

The freedom of the seas, being a preliminary condition of the free existence of nations and the peaceful intercourse between them, as well as the open door for the commerce of all nations, has always formed part of the leading principles of Germany's political program. All the more the Imperial Government regrets that the attitude of her enemies, who are so entirely opposed to peace, makes it impossible for the world at present to bring about the realization of these lofty ideals.

Germany and her allies were ready to enter now into a discussion of peace, and had set down as basis the guarantee of existence, honor, and free development of their peoples. Their aims, as has been expressly stated in the note of Dec. 12, 1916, were not directed toward the destruction or annihilation of their enemies and were, according to their conviction, perfectly compatible with the rights of the other nations. As to Belgium, for which such warm and cordial sympathy is felt in the United States, the Chancellor had declared only a few weeks previously that its annexation had never formed part of Germany's intentions. The peace to be signed with Belgium was to provide for such conditions in that country, with which Germany desires to maintain friendly neighborly relations, that Belgium should not be used again by Germany's enemies for the purpose of instigating continuous hostile intrigues. Such precautionary measures are all the more necessary, as Germany's enemies have repeatedly stated, not only in speeches delivered by their leading men, but also in the statutes of the Economical Conference in Paris, that it is their intention not to treat Germany as an equal, even after peace has been restored, but to continue their hostile attitude, and especially to wage a systematical economic war against her.

The attempt of the four allied powers to bring about peace has failed, owing to the lust of conquest of their enemies, who desired to dictate the conditions of peace. Under the pretense of following the principle of nationality, our enemies have disclosed their real aims in this way, viz., to dismember and dishonor Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. To the wish of reconciliation they oppose the will of destruction. They desire a fight to the bitter end.

A new situation has thus been created which forces Germany to new decisions. Since two years and a half England is using her naval power for a criminal attempt to force Germany into submission by starvation. In brutal contempt of international law, the group of powers led by England not only curtail the legitimate trade of their opponents, but they also, by ruthless pressure, compel neutral countries either to altogether forego every trade not agreeable to the Entente Powers, or to limit it according to their arbitrary decrees.

The American Government knows the steps

which have been taken to cause England and her allies to return to the rules of international law and to respect the freedom of the seas. The English Government, however, insists upon continuing its war of starvation, which does not at all affect the military power of its opponents, but compels women and children, the sick and the aged, to suffer for their country pains and privations which endanger the vitality of the nation. Thus British tyranny mercilessly increases the sufferings of the world, indifferent to the laws of humanity, indifferent to the protests of the neutrals whom they severely harm, indifferent even to the silent longing for peace among England's own allies. Each day of the terrible struggle causes new destruction, new sufferings. Each day shortening the war will, on both sides, preserve the lives of thousands of brave soldiers and be a benefit to mankind.

The Imperial Government could not justify before its own conscience, before the German people, and before history the neglect of any means destined to bring about the end of the war. Like the President of the United States, the Imperial Government had hoped to reach this goal by negotiations. Since the attempts to come to an understanding with the Entente Powers have been answered by the latter with the announcement of an intensified continuation of the war, the Imperial Government—in order to serve the welfare of mankind in a higher sense and not to wrong its own people—is now compelled to continue the fight for existence, again forced upon it, with the full employment of all the weapons which are at its disposal.

Sincerely trusting that the people and the Government of the United States will understand the motives for this decision and its necessity, the Imperial Government hopes that the United States may view the new situation from the lofty heights of impartiality, and assist, on their part, to prevent further misery and unavoidable sacrifice of human life.

Inclosing two memoranda regarding the details of the contemplated military measures at sea, I remain, &c.,

J. BERNSTORFF.

Explanatory Memoranda Outlining the Prohibited Zones

Following is the text of the two memoranda accompanying the German note presented to the State Department by Count von Bernstorff:

From Feb. 1, 1917, sea traffic will be stopped with every available weapon and without further notice in the following blockade zones ["barred zones," according to a version received via Sayville] around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean:

In the north:

[The Sayville version says: "In the North Sea, the district around England and France, which is limited by a line twenty nautical miles."]

The zone is confined by a line at a distance of twenty sea miles along the Dutch coast to Terschelling Lightship, the meridian of longitude from Terschelling Lightship to Udsire; a line from there across the point 62 degrees north, 0 degrees longitude, to 62 degrees north, 5 degrees west; further to a point three sea miles south of the southern point of the Faroe Islands; from there across a point 62 degrees north, 10 degrees west, to 61 degrees north, 15 degrees west; then 57 degrees north, 20 degrees west, to 47 degrees north, 20 degrees west; further, to 43 degrees north, 15 degrees west; then along the parallel of latitude 43 degrees north to twenty sea miles from Cape Finis-terre, and at a distance of twenty sea miles along the north coast of Spain to the French boundary.

In the South—The Mediterranean:

For neutral ships, remains open the sea west of the line Pt. Des Espiquettes to 38 degrees 20 minutes north and 6 degrees east; also north and west of a zone sixty sea miles wide along the North African Coast, beginning at 2 degrees longitude west. For the connection of this sea zone with Greece there is provided a zone of a width of twenty sea miles north and east of the following line: 38 degrees north and 6 degrees east to 38 degrees north and 10 degrees west, to 37 degrees north and 11 degrees 30 minutes east, to 34 degrees north and 22 degrees 30 minutes east.

From there leads a zone twenty sea miles wide, west of 22 degrees 30 minutes eastern longitude, into Greek territorial waters.

Neutral ships navigating these blockade zones do so at their own risk. Although care has been taken that neutral ships which are on their way toward ports of the blockade zones on Feb. 1, 1917, and have come in the vicinity of the latter, will be spared during a sufficiently long period, it is strongly advised to warn them with all available means in order to cause their return.

Neutral ships which on Feb. 1 are in ports of the blockade zones can with the same safety leave them.

The instructions given to the commanders of German submarines provide for a sufficiently long period during which the safety of passengers on unarmed enemy passenger ships is guaranteed.

Americans en route to the blockade zone on enemy freight steamers are not endangered, as the enemy shipping firms can prevent such ships in time from entering the zone.

Sailing of regular American passenger steamers may continue undisturbed after Feb. 1, 1917, if

(A) The port of destination is Falmouth.

(B) Sailing to or coming from that port course is taken via the Scilly Islands and a point 50 degrees north, 20 degrees west.

["Along this route," says the Sayville version, "no German mines will be laid."]

(C) The steamers are marked in the following way, which must not be allowed to other vessels in American ports: On ship's hull and superstructure three vertical stripes one meter wide, each to be painted alternately white and red. Each mast should show a large flag checkered white and red, and the stern the American national flag. Care should be taken that, during dark, national flag and painted marks are easily recognizable from a distance, and that the boats are well lighted throughout.

(D) One steamer a week sails in each direction with arrival at Falmouth on Sunday and departure from Falmouth on Wednesday.

(E) United States Government guarantees that no contraband (according to German contraband list) is carried by those steamers.

["Two copies of maps on which the barred zones are outlined are added," says the version received via Sayville.]

A second memorandum delivered with the German note, and made public late on Feb. 1 by the State Department, differs in some respects from the substance of the note itself. The understanding is that it was prepared at the German Embassy on instructions from Berlin prior to President Wilson's peace address to the Senate, and withheld then on account of the address. When Count von Bernstorff received the note and memorandum from Berlin he decided to deliver with them the original document prepared by him. The memorandum reads:

After bluntly refusing Germany's peace offer, the Entente Powers stated in their note addressed to the American Government that they are determined to continue the war in order to deprive Germany of German provinces in the West and East, to destroy Austria-Hungary, and to annihilate Turkey. In waging war with such aims the Entente Allies are violating all rules of international law, as they prevent the legitimate trade of neutrals with the Central Powers and of the neutrals among themselves. Germany has so far not made unrestricted use of the weapon which she possesses in her submarines. Since the Entente Powers, however, have made it impossible to come to an understanding based upon equality of rights of all nations, as proposed by the Central Powers, and have instead declared only such a peace to be possible which shall be dictated by the Entente Allies and shall result in the destruction and the humiliation of the Central Powers, Germany is unable further to forego the full use of her submarines.

The Imperial Government, therefore, does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation, thus

forced upon Germany by the Entente Allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the Central Powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intention of the Entente Allies gives back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

Under these circumstances, Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing after Feb. 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, &c. All ships met within that zone will be sunk.

The Imperial Government is confident that this measure will result in a speedy termination of the war and in the restoration of peace, which the Government of the United States has so much at heart. Like the Government of the United States, Germany and her allies had hoped to reach this goal by negotiations. Now that the war, through the fault of Germany's enemies, has to be continued, the Imperial Government feels sure that the Government of the United States will understand the necessity of adopting

such measures as are destined to bring about a speedy end of the horrible and useless bloodshed. The Imperial Government hopes all the more for such an understanding of her position, as the neutrals have under the pressure of the Entente Powers suffered great losses, being forced by them either to give up their entire trade or to limit it according to conditions arbitrarily determined by Germany's enemies in violation of international law.

On Feb. 3 a slight modification in the prohibited zone as previously formulated was announced from Berlin to this effect:

It is officially stated that the eastern frontier of the barred zone around England is changed in the following fashion: From a point 52 degrees 30 minutes north and 4 degrees east, to a point 56 degrees north and 4 degrees east, to a point 56 degrees north and 4 degrees 50 minutes east. For the west the frontier remains unchanged.

The change thus announced proved to be the addition of about 4,500 square miles of the North Sea to the area which Germany is to embrace in the submarine blockade of the British coast.

Description of the Prohibited Zone

THE prohibited zone within which German submarines are ordered to wage unlimited war against merchant ships of neutrals and belligerents alike is described by marine experts as follows:

Not only are the coasts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, France, and Italy included, but also all of the Mediterranean except the northern coast of Morocco, the coast of Spain and its group of Balearic Islands, and an outlet, twenty miles wide, connecting the waters around Spain with Grecian waters.

The Italian islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily are within the banned area, as are the coasts of Algeria, Tunis, Libya, and Egypt, these, on account of their French, Italian, and English affiliations.

The approximate length of the line confining the zone around the British Isles is about 4,700 miles. If 300 submarines were used along this line in the attempt to maintain the blockade it would be necessary to place them about fifteen miles apart.

The line starts at the mouth of the Scheldt and runs along the Dutch coast to the Terschelling Lightship, then northward to Udsir Lightship, about twenty miles off the coast of Norway. Then it swings northwesterly toward the Faroe Islands, bends

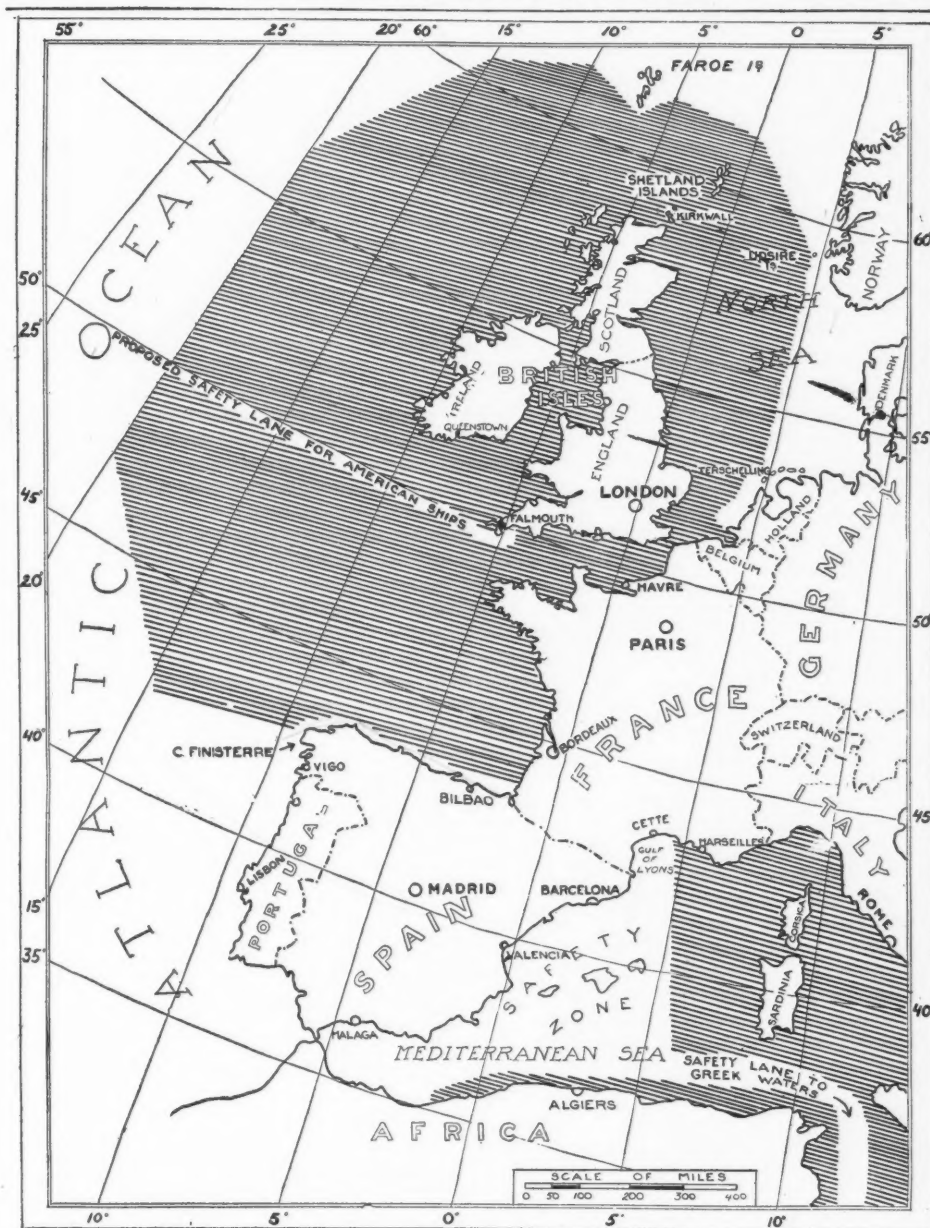
below these islands, sweeps westerly as far as the 20th degree of west longitude, then southerly to the 43d parallel of latitude, then easterly to a point twenty miles from Cape Finisterre and extends along the northern coast of Spain to the French boundary.

The zone is so mapped as to permit no entrance to France for American passenger ships. It is understood to be the German position that Americans may get to France the best they can by going from Falmouth to London and thence by Channel steamers to France at their own risk in crossing the Channel, or by way of Spain or Portugal.

The northern coast of France is included in the blockade, and so is the southern, except a stretch from the Spanish frontier to a point west of Marseilles, about one hundred miles long. There is no important port on this coast. Cette, which is on this stretch, is the only point with rail connection on either coast of France that is not included in the blockade.

Point de l'Espiquette, mentioned in the German note, had to be located by hydrographic experts. It is at the intersection of the meridian 4 degrees 10 minutes west longitude with the French coast, and is opposite the Aigues Mortes Lightship, about twenty-two miles east of Cette, and about sixty miles west of Marseilles.

From the Aigues Mortes Lightship, (or



SHADED AREAS INDICATE THE "PROHIBITED ZONES" FORBIDDEN TO NEUTRAL AS WELL AS BELLIGERENT SHIPS BY THE GERMAN SUBMARINE ORDER OF FEB. 1, 1917, ON PAIN OF BEING SUNK WITHOUT WARNING

Point de l'Espiquette,) a line is drawn to the point marking the intersection of 38 degrees 20 minutes north latitude with 6 degrees east longitude. West of this line the Mediterranean is open.

The Morocco coast is left open from the Strait of Gibraltar all the way around to Cape Kelas at 2 degrees west longitude, about fifteen miles east of the boundary between Morocco and Algeria. It is evident from the

plotting of the zone that it was the purpose to exclude the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, which is under Spanish influence, from the blockade zone.

From 2 degrees west longitude a blockade zone, sixty-one sea miles wide, extends along the North African coast to 6 degrees east longitude. North of this zone is a strip of water open for traffic.

East of 6 degrees east longitude, the entire

Mediterranean is a blockade zone, except for a strip of water twenty miles wide which extends along the coasts of Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli to Greek territorial waters. This strip does not adjoin the coast, but is marked off in such a manner as to bar access to it.

It is thought significant that the German Government manifests solicitude for the

Greek Government in providing an open route to Greece through an otherwise barred sea.

The northern coast of Egypt is blockaded. This means that any vessels emerging from the Suez Canal will be sunk. No part of the Mediterranean east of 22 degrees 30 minutes east longitude is open to traffic under the German decree.

German Chancellor's Official Announcement of the New Policy

THE German Imperial Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, appeared before the Main Committee of the Reichstag on Jan. 31 to give official confirmation to the new policy, timing his appearance so that it should occur at the very hour when the notice was handed to the neutral Governments. His statement follows:

On Dec. 12 last year I explained before the Reichstag the reasons which led to our peace offer. The reply of our opponents clearly and precisely said that they decline peace negotiations with us, and that they want to hear only of a peace which they dictate. By this the whole question of the guilt for the continuation of the war is decided. The guilt alone falls on our opponents. Just as definite stands our task.

The enemy's conditions we cannot discuss. They could only be accepted by a totally defeated people. It therefore means fight. President Wilson's message to Congress shows his sincere wish to restore peace to the world. Many of his maxims agree with our aims, namely, the freedom of the seas, the abolition of the system of balance of power, which is always bound to lead to new difficulties, equal rights for all nations, and the open door to trade.

But what are the peace conditions of the Entente? Germany's defensive force is to be destroyed, we are to lose Alsace-Lorraine and the eastern provinces of the Ostmarken, the Danube monarchy is to be dissolved, Bulgaria is again to be cheated of her national unity, and Turkey is to be pushed out of Europe and smashed in Asia. The destructive designs of our opponents cannot be expressed more strongly. We have been challenged to fight to the end. We accept the challenge. We stake everything, and we shall be victorious.

By this development of the situation the decision concerning submarine warfare has been forced into its last acute stage. The question of the U-boat war, as the gentlemen of the Reichstag will remember, has occupied us three times in this committee, namely, in

March, May, and September last year. On each occasion, in an exhaustive statement, I expounded points for and against in this question. I emphasized on each occasion that I was speaking pro tempore, and not as a supporter in principle or an opponent in principle of the unrestricted employment of the U-boats, but in consideration of the military, political, and economic situation as a whole.

I always proceeded from the standpoint as to whether an unrestricted U-boat war would bring us nearer to a victorious peace or not. Every means, I said in March, that is calculated to shorten the war is the humanest policy to follow. When the most ruthless methods are considered as the best calculated to lead us to a victory and to a swift victory, I said at that time, then they must be employed.

The Chancellor proceeded to explain why in March and May last year he opposed an unrestricted U-boat war; why again in September, according to the unanimous judgment of the political and military authorities, the question was not considered ripe for decision. In this connection the Chancellor repeated his previous utterance that as soon as he, in agreement with the supreme army command, reached the conviction that a ruthless U-boat war would bring Germany nearer to a victorious peace, then a U-boat war would be started. Continuing, he said:

This moment has now arrived. Last Autumn the time was not yet ripe, but today the moment has come when, with the greatest prospect of success, we can undertake this enterprise. We must, therefore, not wait any longer. Where has there been a change?

In the first place, the most important fact of all is that the number of our submarines has very considerably increased as compared with last Spring, and thereby a firm basis has been created for success. The second co-decisive reason is the bad wheat harvest of the world. This fact now already confronts

England, France, and Italy with serious difficulties. We firmly hope to bring these difficulties by means of an unrestricted U-boat war to the point of unbearableness.

The coal question, too, is a vital question in war. Already it is critical, as you know, in Italy and France. Our submarines will render it still more critical. To this must be added, especially as regards England, the supply of ore for the production of munitions in the widest sense, and of timber for coal mines. Our enemy's difficulties are rendered still further acute by the increased lack of enemy cargo space. In this respect time and the U-boat and cruiser warfare have prepared the ground for a decisive blow. The Entente suffers in all its members owing to lack of cargo space. It makes itself felt in Italy and France not less than in England. If we may now venture to estimate the positive advantages of an unrestricted U-boat war at a very much higher value than last Spring, the dangers which arise for us from the U-boat war have correspondingly decreased since that time.

The Chancellor then discussed in detail the political situation, and continued:

A few days ago Marshal von Hindenburg described to me the situation as follows: "Our front stands firm on all sides. We have everywhere the requisite reserves. The spirit of the troops is good and confident. The military situation, as a whole, permits us to accept all consequences which an unrestricted U-boat war may bring about, and as this U-boat war in all circumstances is the means to injure our enemies most grievously, it must be begun."

The Admiralty Staff and the High Seas Fleet entertain the firm conviction—a conviction which has its practical support in the experience gained in the U-boat cruiser warfare—that Great Britain will be brought to peace by arms. Our allies agree with our

views. Austria-Hungary adheres to our procedure also in practice. Just as we lay a blockaded area (Sperrgebiet) around Great Britain and the west coast of France, within which we will try to prevent all shipping traffic to enemy countries, Austria-Hungary declares a blockaded area around Italy. To all neutral countries a free path for mutual intercourse is left outside the blockaded area. To America we offer, as we did in 1915, safe passenger traffic under definite conditions. Even with Great Britain.

The Chancellor then read the note to the United States, and added that corresponding notes had been sent to the remaining neutral States. He concluded with the following words:

No one among us will close his eyes to the seriousness of the step which we are taking. That our existence is at stake every one has known since August, 1914, and this has been brutally (*blutig*) emphasized by the rejection of our peace offer. When in 1914 we had to seize and have recourse to the sword against the Russian general mobilization, we did so with the deepest sense of responsibility toward our people, and conscious of the resolute strength which says, "We must, and, therefore, we can."

Endless streams of blood have since been shed, but they have not washed away the "must" and the "can." In now deciding to employ the best and sharpest weapon we are guided solely by a sober consideration of all the circumstances that come into question, and by a firm determination to help our people out of the distress and disgrace which our enemies contemplate for them. Success lies in a higher Hand, but, as regards all that human strength can do to enforce success for the Fatherland, you may be assured, gentlemen, that nothing has been neglected. Everything in this respect will be done.

Diplomatic Break Between the United States and Germany

THE fact that Germany had decided upon unrestricted submarine warfare was hinted at for several days prior to the announcement, and it is stated that it was known to the Entente Alliance several days before intimations had been received previously at Washington from Ambassador Gerard that the step was under discussion, and it was known that German official circles and the public generally were seriously divided on the issue. It was regarded as possible that the answer of the Allies

to the German peace proposals would definitely bring a decision in favor of unrestricted submarine warfare. It is now believed that Secretary Lansing's declaration, on Dec. 20, 1916, to the effect that we were "on the verge of war," which precipitated a panic in the stock market, was made in the light of his information that German submarine pledges to the United States were likely to be recalled. Nevertheless, President Wilson was profoundly moved when he received news that the step actually

had been taken, and the country at large was thrown into a tense state of excitement.

As soon as Secretary Lansing delivered the note to President Wilson, the President telegraphed to New York for Colonel E. M. House, who is his confidential adviser in moments of extreme crisis, and the latter reached the White House at midnight on the 31st. On Thursday, Feb. 1, there was no indication in official circles of what course would be followed. President Wilson conferred at length with the Secretary of State, but no announcement was made; no Cabinet officers were summoned, nor were members of Congress consulted. All sorts of rumors were afloat, but there were no demonstrations, though a profound agitation in anticipation of momentous events swept the country.

On Friday, the 2d, it was known that the President had determined on a definite step, but just what form it would take was not divulged. The Cabinet was summoned Friday morning, and the session lasted more than two hours. It is understood that the President's official advisers unqualifiedly held to the opinion that he could do nothing less than stand on the warning he had given Germany after the sinking of the steamship *Sussex*.

After the Cabinet session President Wilson proceeded to the Capitol. He reached there at 5 o'clock, and went to the office of the Foreign Relations Committee. The Senate had adjourned, but pages were sent about the Capitol to summon any Senators who could be found. Sixteen Democratic Senators were gathered together, and were in conference with the President some time. President Wilson was told by most of the Senators that the German declaration was an affront to the United States and the civilized world, and that any other course than an immediate rupture of diplomatic relations would be "viewed by the world as cowardice."

Some, however, urged that Germany be notified of a definite time at which diplomatic relations would be severed, and a few others urged that nothing be done until Germany, by some overt act, demonstrated her deliberate determination to

affront the United States. That no Republican Senators conferred with the President was due entirely to the fact that the President did not reach the Capitol until the Senate had taken a recess.

The President told the Senators he had come to feel the pulse of the Senate, and thereby the pulse of the people; that he wished each man to speak his mind frankly with the welfare of the nation and civilization at heart.

At the conclusion each Senator shook the President's hand and assured him that whatever course he took, whether in accord with their own views or not, he would be sustained by a unanimous Senate.

After the conference the President indicated that even then he had not definitely decided just what his next step would be. His decision was not reached until early Saturday morning, Feb. 3, when he announced that he would address both houses of Congress.

It was about 10:50 o'clock that morning that the President sent for Secretary Lansing and told him that he had determined that diplomatic relations with Germany should be broken at once. He then arranged for addressing Congress at 2 o'clock. Secretary Lansing went back to the State Department to make the necessary arrangements for dismissing Ambassador von Bernstorff and recalling Ambassador Gerard.

The scene when President Wilson appeared at the House at 2 o'clock was dramatic. Reports had been in circulation that he had ordered a break with Germany, but comparatively few persons in that large audience were certain as to what attitude he had decided to adopt. Floor and galleries were packed when the President entered the chamber. He got a cordial reception. In the thirty minutes that he stood at the rostrum facing that breathless, eager gathering of men and women, only twice did his hearers become really demonstrative. He had received a round of handclapping and a cheer or two when he appeared. Then the audience listened attentively to the President's words as he read from little printed pages.

Text of President Wilson's Address

THE President's address to the joint session of Congress on Feb. 3 was as follows:

Gentlemen of the Congress:

The Imperial German Government on the 31st day of January announced to this Government and to the Governments of the other neutral nations that on and after the 1st day of February, the present month, it would adopt a policy with regard to the use of submarines against all shipping seeking to pass through certain designated areas of the high seas, to which it is clearly my duty to call your attention.

Let me remind the Congress that on the 18th of April last, in view of the sinking on the 24th of March of the cross-channel steamship *Sussex* by a German submarine without summons or warning, and the consequent loss of lives of several citizens of the United States who were passengers aboard her, this Government addressed a note to the Imperial German Government, in which it made the following declaration:

"If it is still the purpose of the Imperial German Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether."

In reply to this declaration the Imperial German Government gave this Government the following assurance:

"The German Government is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes now, as before, to be in agreement with the Government of the United States."

"The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning

and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

"But," it added, "neutrals cannot expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interest, restrict the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas, from whatever quarter it has been violated."

To this the Government of the United States replied on the 8th of May, accepting, of course, the assurance given, but adding:

"The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th inst. might appear to be susceptible of that construction. In order, however, to avoid any misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government, affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint, absolute, not relative."

To this note of the 8th of May the Imperial German Government made no reply.

On the 31st of January, the Wednesday of the present week, the German Ambassador handed to the Secretary of State, along with a formal note, a memorandum which contained the following statement:

"The Imperial Government therefore does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation thus forced upon Germany by the Entente Allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the Central Powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intention of the Entente Allies gives back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the

Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

"Under these circumstances, Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing, after Feb. 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean, all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, &c. All ships met within the zone will be sunk."

I think that you will agree with me that, in view of this declaration, which suddenly and without prior intimation of any kind deliberately withdraws the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th of May, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which, in its note of the 18th of April, 1916, it announced that it would take in the event that the German Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare which it was then employing and to which it now purposes again to resort.

I have therefore directed the Secretary of State to announce to his Excellency the German Ambassador that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed and that the American Ambassador to Berlin will immediately be withdrawn; and, in accordance with this decision, to hand to his Excellency his passports.

Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German Government, this sudden and deplorable renunciation of its assurances, given this Government at one of the most critical moments of tension in the relations of the two Governments, I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. I cannot bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between

their people and our own or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them, and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the willful prosecution of the ruthless naval program they have announced their intention to adopt. Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.

If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded: if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral Governments will take the same course.

We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people, and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people, which I have sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago—seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant that we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany!

Dismissal and Departure of the German Ambassador

COUNT JOHANN VON BERNSTORFF, the German Ambassador, received his dismissal at 2 o'clock Saturday afternoon, Feb. 3, the precise moment when the President began his address to Congress. The note handed to him with his passports begins as follows:

The Secretary of State, to the German Ambassador.

Department of State, Feb. 3, 1917.

Excellency:

In acknowledging the note with accompany-

ing memoranda, which you delivered into my hands on the afternoon of Jan. 31, and which announced the purpose of your Government as to the future conduct of submarine warfare, I would direct your attention to the following statements appearing in the correspondence which has passed between the Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government in regard to submarine warfare.

Then follow the quotations used by the President in addressing Congress—that from the Sussex note giving notification of a severance of diplomatic rela-

tions, unless Germany's submarine warfare is brought within international law; that from the German reply giving new pledges, but reserving liberty of action should the allied blockade continue unmodified; that from the American rejoinder saying the United States could not predicate Germany's compliance with international law upon the conduct of another belligerent, and, lastly, that from a memorandum accompanying the German note of Jan. 31, giving notice of unrestricted naval warfare. The note to the Ambassador concludes:

In view of this declaration, which withdraws suddenly and without prior intimation the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of May 4, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which it explicitly announced in its note of April 18, 1915, it would take in the event that the Imperial Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare then employed and to which the Imperial Government now purpose again to resort.

The President has therefore directed me to announce to your Excellency that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will be immediately withdrawn, and in accordance with such announcement to deliver to your Excellency your passports. I have the honor to be, your Excellency's obedient servant,
(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

As soon as he received his dismissal Count von Bernstorff sent for Dr. Paul Ritter, the Swiss Minister, and asked him to take over the German Embassy affairs in the United States. The Swiss Government granted the permission, and the formal transfer of the records and papers of the embassy at once followed.

Sailing of Diplomatic Staff

Meanwhile Count von Bernstorff, now without official standing, remained quietly at his residence in Washington, awaiting a guarantee of safe conduct out of the country. The State Department took immediate steps to procure this, and within forty-eight hours a safe conduct to him and his suite was readily granted by Great Britain and France. The Scandinavian-American liner *Frederik VIII.* was selected with his approval; the

Danish Government consented, and the shipowners accepted the guarantee that the vessel would not be molested on its homeward voyage, though it would be required to put in at Halifax for examination for contraband.

All preliminaries were speedily arranged; the German Consuls and their families from St. Louis, Cincinnati, San Francisco, Chicago, Philadelphia, Denver, Seattle, New Orleans, St. Paul, and Porto Rico joined the Ambassador and his staff at Washington. There were sixty members of the party; these, together with the Consuls and their families and other officials who joined them, brought the total to 149 persons. Among the prominent Germans in the party, besides the embassy and consular staff, were the following: Dr. Heinrich F. Albert, who was known as financial adviser to Dr. Dernburg, the first chief German propagandist in this country after war was declared; Wolf von Igel, who was secretary to Captain von Papen, the former German Military Attaché, dismissed from this country for conspiracy, and who is himself under indictment on the same charge and under \$25,000 bail; Baroness Zwiedenek, wife of the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington; Dr. Karl Fuehr and family, and Dr. Mechlenburg, the latter formerly German Consul at Tokio, and both in charge, until their departure, of the German Publicity Bureau in the United States.

Count von Bernstorff was escorted from Washington by officials representing the State Department, and was carefully guarded from intrusion or any violence by a special detail of Secret Service agents. This precaution proved unnecessary, as he was accorded the fullest respect and consideration by every one from the moment he received his dismissal, and nothing of an unpleasant character occurred to mar the tranquillity of his departure. The *Frederik VIII.* sailed from the Port of New York at 4 P. M. Wednesday, Feb. 14.

On sailing the ex-Ambassador expressed his regret over the severance of relations, his warm thanks to the American people for the cordiality of their treatment, and his hope that war might

yet be averted. His wife, who was born in America of German parents, and his entire family accompanied him. He had filled the post at Washington for eight

years. The Iron Cross of the White Ribbon was conferred upon him by the German Emperor on Feb. 5 for services rendered in time of war.

The American Ambassador's Detention in Berlin

THE departure from Berlin of the United States Ambassador, James W. Gerard, was preceded by action on the part of the German Government resembling an attempt to detain him as a hostage. American citizens who wanted to get away also encountered trouble in obtaining the necessary passes, while the delay in releasing seventy-two American sailors who had been captured by a German sea raider and brought in on the Yarrowdale aggravated the situation.

The news that the United States had broken off relations with Germany became known in Berlin on Feb. 4, through newspaper dispatches, but owing to delays the formal instructions from the State Department at Washington did not reach Mr. Gerard till Feb. 5, when he at once asked the German Foreign Office for passports and arranged to turn over the American Embassy—which thereupon was no longer the American Embassy—to departments of the Spanish Embassy and the Dutch Legation.

As soon as the news was officially confirmed hundreds of Americans, who were still in Berlin, anxiously hastened to the embassy to obtain the renewal of their passports and, above all, advice on their future course and possible routes back to America. According to information in the possession of the State Department there were before the break about two thousand Americans in the German Empire. This figure was arrived at by a census taken some time previously by Consuls and compiled at the embassy in Berlin, where the names were registered. A certain number of Americans decided to remain in Germany under the guarantees of the Prussian-American treaty of 1799, which was renewed by the amended treaty of 1828. The United States regarded this old treaty as obsolete until Germany suddenly invoked it when called upon to

settle for the sinking of the American sailing ship William P. Frye early in the war.

An attempt was made by the German Government before Mr. Gerard's departure to secure reaffirmation of the old treaty for the purpose of saving the German ships now in American waters, which the German press alleged had been seized and confiscated. "The anxiety about these ships," said Oscar King Davis in a dispatch, "was such that a proposition was tentatively submitted to Mr. Gerard looking to his making efforts to have Washington undertake to obtain French and British safe conduct for their return to German waters. Mr. Gerard flatly refused to have anything to do with such a proposition. When it was delicately intimated that Mr. Gerard's friendly assistance in this matter might facilitate matters regarding the departure of Americans, Mr. Gerard retorted that he would sit there until Christmas before he would help such a plan."

Delay in Issuing Passports

The German Foreign Office was dilatory in dealing with the passports of Americans wishing to leave Germany. The excuse given was that the clerical staff was shorthanded. Even after Mr. Gerard finally got away there were still a number of Americans who were not able to leave. But it was the treatment accorded to the American Ambassador himself that for a time created a very bad impression. That he was actually treated as a prisoner is not acknowledged, but from the day that he asked for his passports he was unable to communicate with the American Consuls or to send telegrams in cipher. The embassy mail was not delivered, and the telephone, though restored before his departure, was cut off. Police were stationed in front of the embassy, the reason given by the Ger-

man authorities being that they were there in case of an outbreak of hostile feeling among the populace.

Besides anxiety for German ships in American ports, another alleged motive behind the treatment accorded the American Ambassador was to make sure of "the fate" of the German Ambassador in America. In fact, it was openly said in Berlin that Mr. Gerard was being held by the German Government until arrangements had been made for the departure of Count von Bernstorff and his suite, and until "the fate" of the German crews from the captured German ships in American waters had been decided.

Ambassador Gerard eventually left Berlin on the evening of Feb. 10 after a cordial leave-taking with representatives of the German Foreign Office and neutral diplomats. His party included 110 Americans in addition to his family and the embassy staff. The special train, which had been provided by the German Government, reached the Swiss frontier the following afternoon, where the party was met by Swiss high officials; the same evening the party arrived at Berne, and on the 15th reached Paris. Mr. Gerard took special care to issue a statement that he would grant no interviews, and his own version of recent events will remain unknown until he has officially reported to President Wilson, but it is asserted by those who are nearest to him that he bitterly resents the manner in which he was treated before his departure was permitted.

The Yarrowdale Prisoners

Closely connected with the line of conduct adopted toward Mr. Gerard was the attitude of the German Government regarding the continued detention of the seventy-two American sailors taken to Germany on Dec. 31, 1916, as prisoners on the prize ship Yarrowdale. On Feb. 12 Dr. Paul Ritter, the Swiss Minister, who is now acting on behalf of the German Government at Washington, formally notified the State Department that the American sailors would be held until Berlin had definite assurance that German crews in American harbors

would not be held or imprisoned. Secretary of State Lansing replied on Feb. 13 that there was no just reason for the continued detention of the Yarrowdale crew, and insisted on their immediate release.

The German pretext for holding the men was that they had taken pay on armed enemy vessels. The American view was that according to international law they should not be treated as "prisoners of war" unless they had committed hostile acts. The German Government did not allege that the American sailors had done anything hostile.

The men were released on Feb. 15, just as our Government was preparing to issue a peremptory demand for them. It is stated that this demand will, nevertheless, be communicated to Germany to give expression to our Government's opinion of their detention.

Demanding a Treaty

Oscar King Davis, the staff correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, who was with the Ambassador on his journey from Berlin to Berne, wrote on Feb. 14 regarding the German demands on Mr. Gerard:

I am in a position to make certain positive statements regarding Germany's proposition. She submitted to Mr. Gerard the draft of an agreement containing nine articles, ostensibly covering the specific reaffirmation of the Prussian treaty with slight emendations. The first article made it specifically applicable to the German Empire instead of merely to Prussia, and also specifically applicable in the event that war should now break out between the contracting parties.

Subsequent articles provided that Germans should be permitted not only to reside and travel but also to continue business in the United States during the war.

Article 6 began by making The Hague Conventions regarding the treatment of ships specifically applicable in the event of war between the contracting parties. This was merely a reaffirmation of present international law. This is the part which the German Government seems to have been emphasizing through its newspaper friends in America.

But the next paragraph of this article, which Germany seems to have avoided emphasizing, contains the astounding proposition that in the event of the outbreak of war between the contracting parties the ships of one lying in the ports of the other should not only have the right to leave when they pleased but also should have a contract,

binding upon all enemy sea powers, giving them safe conduct to a home port.

This was the precious document Germany sought to induce Mr. Gerard to sign on behalf of his Government, despite the fact that he had presented his recall orders.

It is utterly idle for Germany or any of her newspaper or other defenders to attempt to deny that in the endeavor to induce Mr. Gerard to sign this agreement Germany employed means smacking suspiciously of duress. It is utterly idle to attempt to say that Mr. Gerard was not held in Berlin.

He was held there against his will from Monday until Saturday, most of that time practically incommunicado in his house. His mail was withheld and he was unable to communicate confidentially with other officials of his Government or to transmit to American Consular officials in Germany the orders of his Government regarding their action under the circumstances. The telephone connection with Mr. Gerard's residence and the embassy was cut by the direction of German officials.

When this treatment began to show an unfavorable effect a minor official of the Foreign Office denounced it with vehemence as an outrage and explained that it was the unauthorized work of a subordinate police official. This explanation was laughable. Any one who knows anything of German life knows that such a thing is impossible, and the excuse is fantastic nonsense. The action was deliberate because the German Government hoped it might tend to drive Mr. Gerard into helping negotiate that agreement.

Mr. Davis asserts also that Germany is intentionally allowing matters to drag so that the submarine warfare may be thoroughly tested before there is a hostile break with the United States, and in the event the submarines do not bring Great Britain to submission, Germany will then agree to the American demands, and desist from these measures in order to have the assistance of the United States in forcing an early peace.

Indignities to Americans

Details concerning the past action of German officials in searching American Consuls and their wives at the frontier were made public by the State Department at Washington a few days later. Women as well as men had been subjected to humiliating indignities. It was further disclosed that while the practice of stripping and searching persons crossing the frontier was adopted with respect to all private individuals, no other Consuls save those representing the United States were so treated.

Vigorous protests against these indignities, it was learned, was filed by the State Department with the German Government shortly before the severance of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The explanation given at the time is one which has since been offered in connection with the detention of Ambassador Gerard, namely, that it was the work of subordinate officials acting on their own responsibility.

The State Department's records show three specific cases of American Consular officers and their wives who were either subjected to indignities on the frontier, or were threatened with such affronts. For the obvious reason of not wishing further to humiliate the women concerned, the department refuses to make public their names or the names of their husbands.

The last case reported, and that which drew forth the formal protest from the United States, concerned an American Consul General and his wife who were held up by the German frontier guards at Warnemunde, a German town on the boundary between Germany and Denmark. Both of the other incidents occurred at the same town.

Persons crossing into Denmark at this point are ferried across a bay. When the Consul General and his wife arrived at Warnemunde their baggage was first taken from them and carefully searched. They were then required to turn over all their papers, including their passports. These papers were subjected to microscopic examination and other tests to determine whether they contained any invisible ink writing disclosing information of military or other character.

Following these measures, which failed to disclose anything suspicious, the husband and wife were separated. The Consul General was first taken into a room, where he was ordered to strip off every particle of clothing, each piece being carefully examined. Various chemical solutions were then applied to his body to ascertain whether any invisible ink markings had been written on his skin. Semi-medical inspectors then took him in hand and subjected him to many

COUNT VON BERNSTORFF



The Late German Ambassador to the United States, Whose
Difficult Task Came to an End on Feb. 3, 1917,
When Diplomatic Relations Were Broken.
(© G. V. Buck, from Underwood & Underwood.)

AMBASSADOR JAMES W. GERARD AND HIS EMBASSY STAFF



The United States Ambassador at Berlin Was Recalled with His Entire Staff When the Break Came with Germany. In the Group, Seated. Left to Right, Are: Major G. B. Langhorne, Ambassador Gerard, Lieut. Commander W. R. Gherardi. Standing: L. H. Hoite, C. W. Dyer, A. B. Ruddock, Willing Spencer, L. L. Winslow, W. K. Knoch, and J. C. Grew.

(Photo Bath News Service.)

indecencies in order to see whether any written information was concealed in his mouth or throat.

After the examination of the husband, the wife was taken in hand by women inspectors, who put her through the same processes. She was compelled to submit to the most intimate searching, even being required to unbraid her hair in order that the inspectors could make certain that no slips of paper were concealed in the coils.

The previous case reported was that of another Consul who was put through the same indignities. This man, however, was not accompanied by his wife.

The third incident reported was that of an American Consul and his wife who were returning to the consulate in Germany from Denmark. When the Consul learned of the search to which he and his wife were to be subjected he refused to give up his papers, and returned to England.

Attempt at Compromise Refused

ON Feb. 10 and 11 rumors were afloat in Washington that the German Government had approached the United States Government through the Swiss Minister with a suggestion that the submarine order might be modified to avoid war. Whereupon the following official announcements were made by Secretary Lansing on the 12th:

Department of State, Feb. 12, 1917.

In view of the appearance in the newspapers of Feb. 11 of a report that Germany was initiating negotiations with the United States in regard to submarine warfare, the Department of State makes the following statement:

A suggestion was made orally to the Department of State late Saturday afternoon by the Minister of Switzerland that the German Government is willing to negotiate with the United States, provided that the commercial blockade against England would not be interfered with. At the request of the Secretary of State this suggestion was made in writing and presented to him by the Swiss Minister Sunday night. The communication is as follows:

"MEMORANDUM

"The Swiss Government has been requested by the German Government to say that the latter is now, as before, willing to negotiate, formally or informally, with the United States, provided that the commercial blockade against England will not be broken thereby.

"(Signed) P. RITTER."

The memorandum received immediate consideration, and the following reply was dispatched today:

"My Dear Mr. Minister:

"I am requested by the President to say to you, in acknowledging the memorandum which you were kind enough to send me on the 11th inst., that the Government of the United States would gladly discuss with the

German Government any questions it might propose for discussion were it to withdraw its proclamation of the 31st of January, in which, suddenly and without previous intimation of any kind, it canceled the assurances which it had given this Government on the 4th of May last, but that it does not feel that it can enter into any discussion with the German Government concerning the policy of submarine warfare against neutrals which it is now pursuing unless and until the German Government renews its assurances of the 4th of May and acts upon the assurance. I am, my dear Mr. Minister, &c.,

"ROBERT LANSING.

"His Excellency, Dr. Paul Ritter, Minister of Switzerland."

No other interchange on this subject has taken place between this Government and any other Government or person.

The German Version

This statement was replied to by the German Government, which gave the following version of the matter:

A telegram from the Swiss Minister in Washington was transmitted to Germany by Switzerland in which the Minister offered, if Germany was agreeable, to mediate in negotiations with the American Government about the declaration of prohibited areas, as thereby the danger of war between Germany and the United States might be diminished.

The Swiss Government was then requested to inform its Minister at Washington that Germany, as before, was ready to negotiate with America in case the commerce barrier against our enemies remained untouched. As is obvious, Germany could only have entered into such negotiations on condition that, firstly, diplomatic relations between America and Germany should be restored, and, secondly, that the object of the negotiations could only be certain concessions respecting American passenger ships.

The interdiction of overseas imports, pro-

claimed against our enemies through unrestricted submarine warfare, would thus, even if diplomatic relations with America were restored, be in no circumstances relaxed.

The reply to the Swiss Minister at Washington expressed very clearly that in the resolute carrying out of our U-boat war against the entire overseas imports of our enemies there is for us no turning back.

An Amsterdam dispatch to Reuter's stated that an obviously inspired article had been published in a majority of the German papers, dealing with the convoy of neutral ships through the barred zone. The article said that, convoyed or not, merchantmen in the restricted region would be exposed to all the possibilities of intensified submarine warfare. It

added that submarines would not attack neutral war vessels acting as convoys, but that such vessels would enter the prohibited zone at their own risk, in view of the danger from mines.

The same day an official German notice was issued from Berlin, referring to reports from abroad to the effect that the marine barrier against Great Britain maintained with submarines and mines had been or would be weakened out of regard for the United States, or for other reasons. It went on to say:

Regard for neutrals prompts the clearest declaration that unrestricted war against all sea traffic in the announced barred zones is now in full swing and will under no circumstances be restricted.

The Crisis in American Ports

THE Port of New York was sealed on the night of Jan. 31 by Collector of the Port Malone to prevent any craft from leaving in the night. This was not on orders from Washington, but was not disapproved. The restrictions were removed the next morning.

Shipping in American ports was affected by the breaking off of diplomatic relations in several ways. One of the first questions that arose concerned the German and Austrian vessels which took refuge in the ports of the United States and the insular possessions in August, 1914, and have remained there ever since. The German crews of these ships at once disabled or damaged their own vessels—with few exceptions—so as to make them useless without extensive repairs.

Ninety-one German vessels, totaling 594,696 gross tons, took refuge in American ports at the outbreak of the war and have voluntarily remained there. The thirty-one Teutonic steamers in New York Harbor alone are valued at \$29,000,000.

There is evidence to show that some hours at least before the publication of the German note announcing the resumption of unrestricted warfare instructions were received to damage the German and Austrian ships in all ports of the United States and its dependencies, and that

these instructions were carried out during the three days, Jan. 31-Feb. 2. The method adopted was either to remove or destroy parts of the engines. So thoroughly was the work done that it is believed that in some cases new engines will be required before the ships can be navigated again. In other cases the ships may have to remain tied up till the new parts can be sent from Germany.

The damage to the Kronprinzessin Cecilie, a steamer that cost \$4,500,000 to build, is a leading example. After inspecting the vessel at Boston on Feb. 6, Captain John B. Coyle, an engineer of the United States Coast Guard Service, reported that it had been rendered useless for months by the disabling of the engines, and that his investigation showed a deliberate attempt to cripple the liner. The Kronprinzessin Cecilie, through civil suits against her owners, which are pending in the Federal courts, was in nominal custody of the United States Marshal from November, 1914, when she was taken to Boston from Bar Harbor, Me., until the night of Feb. 3, 1917, when the Marshal took physical possession of her on demand of the New York banking institutions which were the libelants. The German crew was removed and the ship manned by agents of the United States Marshal.

Secretary Baker's Statement

The sinking of the German freighter *Liebenfels*, (2,830 tons gross,) in the harbor at Charleston, S. C., took place on Feb. 1. The circumstances indicated that the vessel had been scuttled. Fear lest there might be a general plan to sink German-owned ships in American ports led the United States Government to seize those at anchorage in the Panama Canal Zone and in the Philippines. Explaining this step, Secretary of War Baker, whose department administers the Canal Zone and the Philippines, made the following statement on Feb. 7:

In the harbors of Manila and elsewhere in the Philippine Islands, and at Colon, Panama, the German merchant vessels were discovered to have certain parts of their machinery removed, and in some instances evidences of preparation for the sinking of these vessels had been made.

Solely for the purpose of protecting the several harbors and other shipping and property therein, steps have been taken to prevent damage, but none of the ships has been seized by the Government of the United States, and in all cases the commanders and crews have been informed that the Government of the United States has made no seizures, claims no rights to the vessels, and does not deny the right of the commander and crew to dismantle the vessel if they see fit, so long as the destruction is accomplished in a way which will not obstruct navigable port waters or injure or endanger other shipping or property.

The breach of diplomatic relations between the Governments of the United States and Germany has not changed the relation of these ships and their crews to the Government of the United States or forfeited their rights to our hospitality, and the steps taken are limited to necessary police regulations to prevent injury to the property of others or the obstruction of harbor waters.

In reply to an inquiry Secretary Baker said the War Department had no evidence that it was the purpose to sink any of these vessels in ship channels or to sink them anywhere except where the vessels were moored. Subsequent information received by the War Department indicated that the boarding of the four German ships at Cristobal on Feb. 3 was necessitated by evidence that an attempt was about to be made to sink the ships at the entrance of the Panama Canal. The damage to the German ships has been general. Reports from the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands, and elsewhere have

all been to the same effect. At Honolulu the crew of the interned German gunboat *Geier* set the vessel on fire.

Problem of Interned Sailors

The Navy Department has also been busy, but mainly with interned auxiliary cruisers. Secretary of the Navy Daniels, in instructions issued on Feb. 3 to officers in command of navy yards, ordered them to take measures for the safety of interned warships. The crews of the German auxiliary cruisers *Kronprinz Wilhelm* and *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, both at Philadelphia, were accordingly removed and placed in isolation barracks. Lieutenant *Hans Berg* and his German prize crew were on the same day removed from the liner *Appam* at Newport News, Va., by coast guard cutters directed by a United States Marshal. Like the *Kronprinzessin Cecilie*, the *Appam* is now under the control of the Department of Justice because of proceedings in the United States courts, there being an appeal pending against a decision awarding the *Appam* to her English owners. Lieutenant *Berg* had been allowed to retain possession under a bond given by the German Government.

Other German and Austrian ships in United States ports were placed under guard by the police, and "neutrality squads" stationed at all piers where the ships are berthed. In New York Harbor there are thirty-one such ships requiring surveillance. The guards are not on the ships, and no official can go aboard without the owners' or the Captain's permission so long as there is no violation of the law, because merchant ships are not interned and are private property. Nevertheless, so persistent were the rumors of impending American seizure of the German merchant ships that on Feb. 4 the United States Government authorized a statement that seizure was not even being considered. All the Government is concerned about is that there be nothing done to interfere with or imperil navigation. Almost immediately after the diplomatic break the crews of the German merchant ships who had been living aboard began seeking lodgings on shore. Steps were taken to prevent their doing so in violation of the immigration laws,

and, as guarantees have been given that they will not take advantage of the permission to spend their leisure ashore, the rule prohibiting them from leaving their ships has been relaxed.

A Virtual Embargo

American vessels plying to ports which can only be reached by traversing the danger zone have almost all been held up, thus causing serious delays in the forwarding of cargo and mails and the conveyance of passengers. Interest has chiefly centred in the American Line's difficulties. After five days' waiting and uncertainty, P. A. S. Franklin, President of the International Mercantile Marine Company, announced on Feb. 7 that the dates of departure from New York of the St. Louis and other American liners had been indefinitely postponed. This decision was reached after the Directors of the company received the following message from the Secretary of State:

The Government cannot give advice to private persons as to whether their merchant vessels should sail on a voyage to European ports by which they would be compelled to pass through the waters delineated in the declaration issued by the German Government on Jan. 31, 1917.

It, however, asserts that the rights of American vessels to traverse all parts of the high seas are the same now as they were prior to the issuance of the German declaration, and that a neutral merchant vessel may, if its owners believe that it is liable to be unlawfully attacked, take any measures to prevent or resist such attacks.

The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey recalled by wireless those of its vessels which were bound for the danger zone at the time of the break with Germany. "Other shipowners," said the manager of the company's foreign shipping department, "have adopted the same policy. We had been trying for some time to reach our ships by wireless, and we have been able to bring back two of them to New York." The company has a fleet of about forty ships, twelve of which are in the Atlantic service.

It was stated by American Line officials that they were considering whether

to sail their ships without protection or to provide guns, if they could be obtained, and gunners on their own account. As the American Line provides a regular mail service between America and England, no mail was sent from New York to Liverpool after the departure of the Philadelphia on Jan. 27 until the sailing of the White Star liner Cedric on Feb. 12. The Cedric took the sacks which should have gone by the St. Louis on Feb. 3. The American Line, however, was still sending its vessels from England as usual. The company's office in London said it was booking passages for the Philadelphia, due to leave Liverpool on Feb. 10, and the Finland, due to leave the same port on Feb. 15. These ships would have British naval protection in the danger zone.

The State Department on Feb. 7 announced that no convoys would be provided for ships intending to traverse the danger zone, the Government policy apparently being that shipowners should do what they thought fit and that the armed forces of the nation would intervene only in case of an "overt act" by German submarine commanders. At the present writing the American liners are waiting until they can obtain guns and gunners. After the presentation of the German note on Jan. 31 only five American freighters had left American territorial waters and faced the danger zone up to Feb. 19. The Dochra, bound for Genoa, Italy, was the first to go, and on Feb. 11 the Rochester and the Orleans, both armed, sailed for Bordeaux, France. The Oswego for Genoa and the City of Puebla bound for Havre followed a few days later.

The agents in America for British, French, and Italian steamship lines state that their plans are unchanged, and their vessels are sailing as usual when loaded and ready for sea. Up to date the derangement of ocean transportation has affected only neutral shipping through the fear that no vessel is safe in the danger zone.

Public Sentiment and Defense Measures

THE severance of relations with Germany met with a burst of approval from all parts of the country. The Governors of every State—also every State Legislature that was in session—expressed approval and a willingness to stand by the President in any further course he might pursue. The newspapers of the country with practical unanimity indorsed the President's action. The United States Senate, after a spirited debate, passed by a vote of 78 to 5 the following resolution:

Whereas, The President has, for the reasons stated in his address delivered to the Congress in joint session on Feb. 3, 1917, severed diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government by the recall of the American Ambassador at Berlin and handing his passports to the German Ambassador at Washington; and

Whereas, Notwithstanding this severance of diplomatic intercourse, the President has expressed his desire to avoid conflict with the Imperial German Government; and

Whereas, The President declared in his said address that, if in his judgment occasion should arise for further action in the premises on the part of the Government of the United States, he would submit the matter to the Congress and ask the authority of the Congress to use such means as he might deem necessary for the protection of American seamen and people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Senate approves the action taken by the President, as set forth in his address delivered before the joint session of the Congress, as above stated.

Forty-three Democrats and thirty-five Republicans voted for the resolution; two Democrats, Kirby of Arkansas and Vardaman of Mississippi, and three Republicans, Gronna of South Dakota, La Follette of Wisconsin, and Works of California, voted nay.

When the German note was first received there was a sharp decline in stocks and the markets were nervous and soft for two days thereafter; but as soon as the severance of relations was announced there was immediate recovery, and the markets grew strong and firm, with substantial advances, which continued uniformly for several days.

The response from naturalized Ger-

mans was one of immediate and fervent loyalty to the United States. The Directors of the German-American National Alliance, of which Dr. Charles J. Hexamer is President, a body said to have a membership representing 3,000,000 persons, adopted resolutions indorsing the President's action, offering their services and declaring that the funds which they are collecting for the German Red Cross and German widows and orphans, in case of war with Germany, will be employed for the benefit of German-American widows and orphans. Many other influential German-American Societies throughout the country took similar action, pledging loyalty and willingness to stand by the President. The German-American press, with no notable exceptions, commented on the severance with marked restraint, expressing deep regret, but affirming that German-Americans would stand by their adopted country.

As soon as the action of the President was known offers began to pour into the various departments from leading industries which placed their plants at the command of the Government if needed. The National Defense Council met on Feb. 12 at Washington and took preliminary measures to mobilize American industries and all resources in case of hostilities.

First Military Precautions

As soon as the German Ambassador received his dismissal the navy yards and Government buildings were closed to the public, the wireless stations were taken in charge by the Government, announcements of movements of naval vessels ceased, guards were placed at important arsenals and Government plants and the State authorities placed National Guardsmen on watch at important bridges, subway entrances, aqueducts, and water supply reservoirs. Units of the National Guard of New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey were called out for such duties, and the police authorities of many cities were given similar orders. A watch

was established at all seaports, to prevent any obstruction to the channels; the Panama Canal was carefully guarded, and similar precautions were taken at all American ports. The New York Legislature appropriated \$1,000,000 for preliminary measures to guard New York property. The United States Government commenced the erection of a new fort at Rockaway Point, the eastern extremity of Long Island, for the emplacement of two or more sixteen-inch guns and four six-inch siege guns, as an additional protection to the Harbor of New York and the contiguous coasts.

Large Naval Appropriation

The House on Feb. 12, by a vote of 353 to 23 passed the Naval Appropriation bill, the largest in the history of the Government. The bill appropriates \$368,553,388.07, about \$55,000,000 in excess of the bill of last session. In former years a naval budget of \$125,000,000 was considered large.

While thus appropriating hundreds of millions for preparedness, the House paused to adopt an amendment which reaffirms this nation's belief in a policy of arbitration in international disputes. This amendment, offered by Mr. Mann, the minority leader, and adopted without debate and by a unanimous viva voce vote, reads:

It is hereby reaffirmed to be the policy of the United States to adjust and settle its international disputes through mediation or arbitration to the end that war may be honorably avoided.

The House included in the bill the Administration amendments empowering the President to commandeer shipyards and munitions factories in time of war or national emergency. It also approved the Administration amendment to appro-

priate \$1,000,000 to acquire basic patents to an airplane suitable for Government uses. These amendments were approved informally during the debate, and when the measure was put on its final passage no demand was made for a rollcall upon them.

The building program carried in the bill calls for three battleships, one battle cruiser, three scout cruisers, fifteen destroyers, one destroyer tender, one submarine tender, and eighteen submarines. The bill also provides that the limit of cost for the four battle cruisers authorized last session shall be increased to \$19,000,000 each, and the limit of cost for the three scout cruisers heretofore authorized to \$6,000,000 each, exclusive of armor and armament.

As reported by Chairman Padgett, the bill appropriated approximately \$351,000,000, but \$17,100,143 was added during consideration of the measure in the House. These additions were by committee amendments which had the approval of the Navy Department.

Having given the President blanket authority to commandeer shipyards and munition plants "in time of war or national emergency," the House, because of a conflict in committee jurisdiction, left to the Senate the question of whether there shall be included in the present bill an appropriation of \$150,000,000 for the more expeditious construction of any naval vessels which the President may regard as necessary. The original House amendment included provision for a bond issue of \$150,000,000 to meet this emergency allowance, but the House Rules Committee did not feel justified in reporting a special rule for a bond issue which had not been considered by the Ways and Means Committee.

Protests of Other Neutrals Against Germany's Submarine Order

PRESIDENT WILSON, in notifying the other neutral nations of the break between the United States and Germany, expressed the hope that they might find it possible to take similar

action. The following communication was sent by the State Department on Feb. 4 to American diplomatic representatives in neutral countries:

You will immediately notify the Government

to which you are accredited that the United States, because of the German Government's recent announcement of its intention to renew unrestricted submarine warfare, has no choice but to follow the course laid down in its note of April 18, 1916, (the Sussex note.)

It has, therefore, recalled the American Ambassador to Berlin and has delivered passports to the German Ambassador to the United States.

Say also that the President is reluctant to believe Germany actually will carry out her threat against neutral commerce, but if it be done the President will ask Congress to authorize use of the national power to protect American citizens engaged in their peaceful and lawful errands on the seas.

The course taken is, in the President's view, entirely in conformity with the principles he enunciated in his address to the Senate Jan. 12. (The address proposing a world league for peace.)

He believes it will make for the peace of the world if other neutral powers can find it possible to take similar action.

Report fully and immediately on the reception of this announcement and upon the suggestion as to similar action.

No other nation followed the example of the United States to the extent of breaking off relations with Germany; the Russian semi-official press even warned the small European neutrals against any move that would give Germany a chance to crush them and lengthen the lines to be defended by the Allies. But all these nations sent protesting notes to Germany. The South American republics and China also made vigorous protests, indicating that they stood with the United States on the subject.

Spain's Reply to Germany

The Spanish Government's answer to Germany's submarine war zone note was handed to the German Ambassador at Madrid on Feb. 6. The text is as follows:

His Majesty's Government has attentively examined the note which your Serene Highness was good enough to remit to me Jan. 31, in which is set forth the German Government's resolute intention to interrupt as from the following day all sea traffic, without further notice, and by no matter what arm, around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean.

I must say that the note caused a very painful impression on the Spanish Government. The attitude of strict neutrality which Spain adopted from the beginning and has maintained with loyalty and unshakable firmness gives her the right to expect that the lives of her subjects engaged in sea trade should not be placed in such grave peril. It

also gives her the right to expect that that trade should not be troubled nor diminished by such an increase in the extent of the zones in which the Imperial Government insists that, in order to attain its ends, it must use all weapons and suppress all limitations which it has hitherto imposed upon its methods of naval warfare.

Even before the Imperial Government had set aside these restrictions his Majesty's Government had protested, holding them insufficient to comply with the prescriptions of national maritime law. But the methods of war announced by Germany are being carried to such an unexpected and unprecedented extreme that the Spanish Government, considering its rights and the requirements of its neutrality, must with still more reason protest calmly but firmly to the Imperial Government, and must make at the same time the necessary reserves, imposed by the legitimate presumption of ineluctable responsibility, which the Imperial Government assumes, principally in view of the loss of life which its attitude may cause.

His Majesty's Government bases its protest on the fact that the decision to close completely the road to certain seas by substituting for the indisputable right of capture in certain cases a pretended right of destruction in all cases is outside the legal principles of international life. Above all and beyond all it considers that the extension, in the form announced, of this pretended right of destruction to the lives of noncombatants and the subjects of neutral nations such as Spain is contrary to the principles observed by all nations even in moments of the greatest violence.

If the German Government, as it says, expects that the Spanish people and Government will not close their ears to the reasons which have caused its decision, and hopes that they will co-operate to avoid further calamities and sacrifices of human life, it will also understand that the Spanish Government, while disposed to lend at the proper time its initiative and support to everything that could contribute to the advent of a peace, more and more wished for, cannot admit the legality of exceptional methods in warfare. These methods, indeed, notwithstanding Spain's right as a neutral and her scrupulous fulfillment of the duties incumbent on her as such, make more difficult and even stop altogether her sea trade, compromising her economic life and threatening with grave dangers the lives of her subjects.

His Majesty's Government, supported more firmly than ever by the justice of its position, does not doubt that the Imperial Government, inspired by the sentiments of friendship which unite the two countries, will find, notwithstanding the severe exigencies of this terrible war, means of giving satisfaction to Spain's claims. These claims are based on the inextinguishable duty which binds a Government to protect the lives of its subjects and maintain the integrity of its sovereignty so that the

course of national existence be not interrupted. For the reasons set out his Majesty's Government feels itself fully sustained in its position by reason and law.

Holland's Attitude

When Mr. Langhorne, the American Chargé d'Affaires at The Hague, formally communicated President Wilson's message to the Dutch Government, he received the reply from Dr. Loudon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that Holland was not inclined to support America's action. In the Second Chamber of Parliament Premier Vandenlinden made an address on Feb. 8 in which he said:

There is now no more reason for the Government to change its international policy than on the occasion of previous violations of international law. The Government remains resolutely attached to the policy of strict impartiality, and maintains its resolve to offer armed resistance to any violation of our territory or sovereign rights by any power whatsoever. The Government hopes by determination and tact to overcome the difficulties resulting from the international situation.

At the same time the Dutch Government sent a note of protest to Germany, dated Feb. 7, in which it pointed out that the zone proclaimed as dangerous in the Mediterranean completely blocked the passage between Port Said and the channel from Gibraltar to Greece, so that the Indian route, which is essential and of importance to the commerce of Holland as a colonial power, is cut off. The Dutch Government recalled its earlier protests against the British and German measures relating to the proclamation of war zones in the North Sea, and continued:

With all the more reason the Government is obliged to object with extreme energy against the régime now announced, which not only applies to much vaster areas, but also includes attacks on neutral ships, whatever their cargo or destination, and without discriminating as to whether their presence in said zone is voluntary or not.

It further pointed out that even had Germany qualified the new measure as a blockade, the merciless destruction of neutral ships would be contrary to international law, which only permits the confiscation, and not the destruction, of blockade runners. The note continues:

Germany does not use the term blockade, and rightly so, because it cannot be applied to such vast areas and because, by the rules of international law, it can only be directed against traffic with hostile ports, and in no

wise against direct navigation between two neutral countries. Now, the German warships are ordered to destroy ships irrespective of their trafficking with enemy ports or between neutral ports.

Faithful to the principle which has always been observed in this war, the Queen's Government can only see in such destruction of neutral ships violation of the rights of nations, to say nothing of an attack upon the laws of humanity, if this happened regardless of the security of the persons aboard. The responsibility in the event of the destruction of Dutch ships and loss of life will fall on the German Government, and all the more heavily in the foreseeable event of Dutch ships being forced to enter the danger zone by constraint of adversary warships exercising the right of search.

Protest of Switzerland

The Swiss Federal Council answered the German note with an energetic protest against the proposed submarine action. The text, made public Feb. 11, says in part:

The Imperial Government cannot fail to recognize that the measures announced by this memoir constitute an attack upon the right of peaceful commerce which in conformity with the principles of international law belongs to Switzerland, in its character as a neutral State. In fact, the blockade of nearly all ports susceptible of being utilized by Switzerland presents a serious danger in the matter of our provisionment in food products and in raw materials as well as with respect to our exportations over the sea.

Even if by friendly agreement with the French Government the utilization of the Port of Cette, exempted from the blockade, is rendered possible, maritime transport would be restrained to a degree which would cause sensible injury to our national economy.

The maritime blockade by the Government of the German Empire follows a series of measures taken during the war by both parties of belligerents in opposition to the law of nations and international agreement, by which our liberty of action in economic matters is already restricted and against which we have vainly raised our voice.

In such circumstances this blockade is all the more pressing and more weighty with consequences. The Federal Council sees itself, therefore, obliged to protest energetically and to make all reservations against the blockade announced by the Imperial Government and against its realization so far as it violates the rights of neutrals recognized by the general principles of international law, in particular where the effective application of the blockade appears incomplete.

The Federal Council gives notice in advance of all legal reservations if it happens that the means put into effect by Germany and her allies are applied to the destruction of Swiss

interests or property. The Federal Council, however, does not doubt that the Government of the empire will do all that is necessary to assure in the measure possible the security of Swiss interests and spare the painful consequences which could arise from the blockade for the economic life of the Swiss.

The same note was addressed to the Government of Austria-Hungary.

Brazil's Warning to Germany

All the South American republics, while declining to break with Germany at present, sent protests to the Berlin Government. Brazil warned that Government that it would be held responsible for acts against Brazilian citizens or ships. The text of Brazil's note, sent on Feb. 6 by Lauro Muller, the Foreign Minister, is as follows:

I have transmitted to my Government by telegraph your letter of Feb. 3, in which your Excellency informed me of the resolution of the German Imperial Government to blockade Great Britain, its islands, the littoral of France and Italy, and the Eastern Mediterranean by submarines which would commence operations on Feb. 1. Your letter stated that the submarines would prevent all maritime traffic in the zones above mentioned, abandoning all restrictions observed up to the present in the employment of means for sea fighting, and would use every military resource capable of the destruction of ships.

The letter of your Excellency said further that the German Government, having confidence that the Government of Brazil would appreciate the reasons for the methods of war which Germany was forced to take on account of the actual circumstances, hoped that Brazilian ships would be warned of the danger they ran if they navigated the interdicted zones, the same as passengers or merchandise on board any other ship of commerce, neutral or otherwise.

I have just been directed to inform your Excellency that the Federal Government has the greatest desire not to see modified the actual situation, as long as the war lasts, a situation in which Brazil has imposed upon itself the rigorous observance of the laws of neutrality since the commencement of hostilities between nations with whom she has had friendly relations. My Government has always observed this neutrality while reserving to itself the right, which belong to it and which it has always been accustomed to exercise, of action in those cases where Brazilian interests are at stake. The unexpected communication we have just received announcing a blockade of wide extent of countries with which Brazil is continually in economic relations by foreign and Brazilian shipping has produced a justified and profound impression through the imminent menace which

it contains of the unjust sacrifice of lives, the destruction of property, and the wholesale disturbance of commercial transactions.

In such circumstances, and while observing always and invariably the same principles, the Brazilian Government, after having examined the tenor of the German note, declares that it cannot accept as effective the blockade which has just been suddenly decreed by the Imperial Government. Because of the means employed to realize this blockade, the extent of the interdicted zones, the absence of all restrictions, including the failure of warning for even neutral menaced ships, and the announced intention of using every military means of destruction of no matter what character, such a blockade would neither be regular nor effective and would be contrary to the principles of law and the conventional rules established for military operations of this nature.

For these reasons the Brazilian Government, in spite of its sincere and keen desire to avoid any disagreement with the nations at war, with whom it is on friendly terms, believes it to be its duty to protest against this blockade and consequently to leave entirely with the Imperial German Government the responsibility for all acts which will involve Brazilian citizens, merchandise, or ships and which are proven to have been committed in disregard of the recognized principles of international law and of the conventions signed by Brazil and Germany.

Chile and Peru

Peru demanded reparation and indemnity for the sinking of the *Lorton*. Chile flatly rejected Germany's pretensions in the "prohibited zone" and reserved liberty of action to protect her rights and her citizens. Uruguay, Bolivia, Panama, and Cuba took similar action. Argentina's reply to the German submarine note declared that she would conform her conduct at sea to her fundamental rights under established international law.

The reply of the Chilean Government, made public on Feb. 7, is as follows:

The Chilean Government has taken cognizance of the note sent to it by his Majesty the German Emperor, in which Chile is informed that Germany has fixed the limits of a blockade area around the coasts of England, France, and Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean. It has been informed also that within said limits Germany will resort to hostile acts against whatever ship is encountered, even if it belongs to a neutral power.

Such a measure, in the opinion of the Chilean Government, amounts to a restriction of the rights of neutrals, to which restriction Chile cannot agree because it is contrary to

the principles that have been long established in favor of neutral nations.

The acceptance by Chile of the measures adopted by Germany would, moreover, divert her from the line of strict neutrality which has been followed during the European conflict.

Chile consequently reserves liberty of action to protect all of her rights in the event of any hostile acts against her ships.

The reply of the Peruvian Government, made public on Feb. 9, declares that it reserves all rights for the protection of Peruvian citizens, ships, and cargoes to which neutrals are entitled under international law. The note continues:

However deplorable may be the extremes to which the belligerents are carrying hostilities now, under new threats to neutral trade, the Peruvian Government must declare that it cannot admit the resolution of which your Government has given notification, because the Peruvian Government considers it opposed to international law and the legal rights of neutrals.

The recent odious case of the vessel *Lorton*, which resulted in a claim being made by my Government, proves the error and injustice of the submarine campaign, now generalized in an unacceptable form by the closure of enormous zones of free seas, with serious danger to the lives and interests of neutral countries.

The Peruvian Foreign Minister, Enrique de la Riva Agüero, in replying to the American Minister respecting President Wilson's suggestion that other neutral nations take the same position as the United States on the German submarine campaign, said:

In reply to your Excellency's note of Feb. 9, it gives me pleasure to say that my Government fully appreciates the principles and intentions that guide your Excellency in the present emergency, which are in complete conformity with your note of April 18, and which uphold the defense of the rights of all neutral nations, seriously threatened by the new methods of maritime war now attempted to be established.

My Government trusts that some modification can still be obtained, speeding the way to sentiments of justice and concord which will prevent the bringing upon America the horrors of a war without parallel in history.

The Scandinavian Protest

Norway, Sweden, and Denmark answered Germany in an identical note, agreed upon after a joint consultation in Stockholm lasting a whole week. The following official summary of it was made public by the Swedish Government:

On Tuesday, the 13th inst., the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish Governments handed to the German Ministers in their respective capitals notes identical in tenor protesting against the barring of certain sea zones announced by Germany and Austria.

The note begins by recalling the fact that during the war the Governments have several times found themselves obliged to formulate formal protests against serious infringements of the rights of neutrals involved by measures of various belligerent powers. It then emphasizes the fact that the Governments, whose actions on these various occasions were, as always, inspired by the spirit of the most perfect loyal impartiality, confined themselves to defending the imprescriptible rights of neutrals.

After pointing out that the Governments have on previous occasions protested against measures of belligerents tending to restrict the free use of the seas by neutrals, the note proceeds to emphasize that the Governments on this occasion are all the more bound to maintain, in taking the same point of view, that the obstacles placed in the way of neutral navigation are now more considerable, in both extent and gravity.

The note draws attention to the fact that the only rules of international law which might be invoked in support of measures having as their object the prevention of all commerce and all navigation with the enemy are those relating to a naval blockade. The note affirms that no belligerent has the right to prohibit peaceful navigation through zones the limits of which are very distant from enemy coasts which could be blockaded only in legitimate manner.

The Governments recall the universally recognized law on naval blockade, namely, that a neutral ship cannot be captured if it is not making any attempt to violate the blockade, and that in the event of a ship being captured it must be brought before a prize court in conformity with the general regulations.

The Governments declare their anxiety in regard to the measures which have been announced is aggravated further by the fact that the zones declared dangerous will, it appears, be watched exclusively by submarines, whose activity involves great danger for neutrals' subjects, as has been shown by experience on various occasions in the course of the war.

Finally, the note points out that the measures announced will be all the more contrary to the principles of international law if, as the tenor of the communications of the Imperial Governments seems to indicate, they are to be applied without distinction to all ships entering the zones described, and consequently to those not bound for enemy ports, but on the way from one neutral port to another.

On the ground of the considerations set forth above, the Governments formally protest against the measures taken by Germany

and Austria-Hungary, and make all reservations with regard to the loss of human lives and to material damage which may result from them.

The note handed to the German Minister at Peking by the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs indicated an intention to follow the lead of the United States in case the latter should enter a state of war with Germany. Observers in Peking have long noted what they believed to be a desire on the part of the Chinese Government to enter the war on the side of the Entente. A dispatch from Tokio on Feb. 11 stated that the Japanese Government would offer no interference with whatever course China might decide to follow. The text of the Chinese note, made public on Feb. 11, is as follows:

The new measures of submarine warfare inaugurated by Germany are imperiling the lives and property of Chinese citizens even more than the measures previously taken, which have already cost China many lives and constitute a violation of international law. The toleration of their application would introduce into international law arbitrary principles incompatible with legitimate intercourse between neutrals and between neutrals and belligerents.

China, therefore, protests energetically to Germany against the measures proclaimed on Feb. 1, and sincerely hopes that the rights of neutral States will be respected and that the said measures will not be carried out. If contrary to expectation this protest be ineffective China will be constrained, to its profound regret, to sever diplomatic relations. It is unnecessary to add that China's action is dictated by a desire for further peace and the maintenance of international law.

A communication explanatory of China's action was also handed to Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, American Minister to China. It follows:

China, like the President of the United States, is reluctant to believe that the German Government will actually execute measures which imperil the lives and property of the citizens of neutral States and jeopardize legitimate commerce, and which tend, if allowed to be enforced without opposition, to introduce new principles into international law. China, being in accord with the principles set forth in your Excellency's note and firmly associating itself with the United States, has taken similar action by protesting energetically to Germany against the new blockade measures. China also proposes to take such other action in the future as will be deemed necessary for the maintenance of the principles of international law.

Eighteen Days of Ruthless Submarining

A SUFFICIENT time has now elapsed since the inception of unrestricted submarine warfare in accordance with the German announcement of Jan. 31 for us to formulate certain general conclusions. In the first place, it should be remembered that the restriction, which has now been removed, did not check the sinking of ships; it only limited the sinking of ships without previous warning. The present method does not, therefore, necessarily mean the destruction of greater tonnage; it means primarily a greater destruction of life. This would seem to show that the large tonnage destroyed on certain days in February is due, not to the removal of restrictions, not to the omission of warning, (after which the ship would have been sunk in any case,) but rather to the employment of larger numbers of submarines, and also, perhaps, of newer and larger types of submarines.

So far, the losses announced during the month of February, 1917, are as follows:

Ships Sunk. Tonnage.		
Feb. 1.....	10	13,039
Feb. 2.....	8	7,337
Feb. 3.....	6	10,159
Feb. 4.....	2	2,623
Feb. 5.....	5	8,729
Feb. 6.....	14	44,457
Feb. 7.....	13	30,352
Feb. 8.....	10	21,504
Feb. 9.....	6	10,424
Feb. 10.....	7	22,271
Feb. 11.....	2	1,725
Feb. 12.....	5	8,361
Feb. 13.....	4	*14,896
Feb. 14.....	5	†12,287
Feb. 15.....	6	7,750
Feb. 16.....	7	9,736
Feb. 17.....	4	7,483
Feb. 18.....	3	12,008

*Including the *Afric*, 11,999 tons.

†Including *Lyman M. Law*, (Amer.)

This makes a total of 117 ships sunk, with a tonnage of 245,140 during the first eighteen days of February; computation at the same average rate gives 200 ships of 408,905 tons for one month, as against the total of 1,000,000 tons a month which is said to be the estimate of the German Admiralty.

The world's total mercantile tonnage is said to be about 48,000,000, of which about 20,000,000 tons are British. Complete destruction of the world's commercial navies, at the average monthly rate given above, would, therefore, require 120 months; or, if we include British tonnage alone, fifty months.

This estimate is based on the supposition that no new ships are built. In reality, new ships are being built almost as fast as ships are sunk. We may illustrate this by the figures for 1915, the year of the *Lusitania*, when submarine warfare was largely unrestricted and before Britain had made large inroads on the German subsea fleet. The figures are:

	New British Tonnage.	Number of New Ships.
1915.		
Steam	1,461,816	655
Sailing	61,934	152
	British Losses. Tonnage.	British Ships Lost.
1915.		
Steam	1,452,679	741
Sailing	82,222	334

So that there was an actual net gain in British steam tonnage in the year 1915, and a small net loss in sailing tonnage.

Great Britain's total mercantile tonnage in December, 1915, was:

	Number of Ships.	Tonnage.
Steam	12,776	19,154,277
Sailing	8,021	844,391

While announcements have been made that Great Britain has for months been making intensive efforts to increase the number of ships built and has simplified and standardized building plans with this end in view, the actual figures do not appear to be available. The fact that since the battle of Jutland—that is, during nine months—Great Britain's losses in warships have been almost negligible has released large energies for the building of new mercantile tonnage that

would otherwise have been employed in building new warships to replace losses. On Feb. 14 a high Admiralty official was quoted as saying:

"More ships have entered and left English ports in the last few days than for months past. On Feb. 13 more ships arrived and departed than on any day for six months. The average loss since Friday (Feb. 9) was one ship out of every thirty-five. In the English Channel, at a period when a greater number of ships than ever before are plying between British and French ports, the losses in the last two weeks (Feb. 1-14) have been extraordinarily small."

The submarine campaign has had almost as slight an effect on shipping entering and leaving French ports, according to Marcel Hutin, editor of the *Echo de Paris*. On Feb. 12, M. Hutin says, 112 French and neutral vessels entered French ports—little less than before the unrestricted submarine campaign. These conclusions seem to be supported by the arrival at the Port of New York of considerable groups of British and French ships of large tonnage. It has not been announced whether, or in what way, they were convoyed through the forbidden zone or across the ocean.

Anti-Submarine Defenses

Estimates of the numbers of German submarines in action vary from 100 to 300. No trustworthy figures are obtainable, but the number must be considerable. The question, therefore, arises: How have the Entente naval Powers been able to keep the losses down to the very moderate figures above recorded?

One answer comes from Italy, from Signor Paolo Giordani: "The invention of nets against submarines is due to the British Admiralty, which, not long ago, after several months of toilsome silence, celebrated the certain sinking of the one hundredth enemy submarine snared in the toils. These nets are most ingenious and formidable."

The nets are towed through the water by small steam fishing boats known as drifters. Great Britain has already mobilized more than 100,000 fishermen,

with at least 3,000 ships. Some hundreds of these "drifters" have been loaned to Italy. Each drifter drags out and places a section of the net some 1,000 yards long, for which it is responsible. A submarine strikes a piece of net like some blind night-flying beetle. The nearest "drifters" wait a certain time to see if the submarine is prepared to come to the surface and surrender. If not, a bomb is dropped into the water. There is a muffled report, a commotion in the waves, and then all is still. Submarine and net have disappeared, and the returning "drifter" hoists the black flag to indicate successful fishing. Every "drifter" is further armed with a small gun fore and aft, with wireless apparatus and with a megaphone to communicate with its neighbors.

Armed and Armored Boats

Next to this netting process come the armed motor boats. These speedy boats have the advantages of rapidity and vision over the submarines. They draw so little water that it is almost impossible to torpedo them. Back and forth, day and night, in calm or storm, these small boats skim in search of submarines. The first motor boats used in this way were pleasure boats impressed into service; recently special boats have been built, larger, faster, more comfortable, more seaworthy; they are painted leaden gray and carry quick-firing guns, machine guns, torpedoes, and sometimes bombs. And next, in ascending order, come torpedo boats, destroyers, cruisers, all of which aid in hunting for submarines. And, further, hydroplanes, armed with bombs which explode thirty or forty feet under water, do good service, not only in sighting submarines but often in destroying them. Every day, especially in the more confined waters of the Mediterranean, squads of airmen fly out over the waves on regular patrol duty.

There remains yet another method which is perhaps the most effective of all. It is described in a communication published on Feb. 10 and accredited to a British expert, who said:

I know personally that as many as two or three submarines have been bagged in one day by light guns in the hands of trained

gunners, mounted on merchant ships. A submarine commander looking through his periscope has a range of vision of about three miles, but he must get his target broadside on to have a reasonable chance of making a torpedo hit what it is aimed at, and as torpedoes are very expensive missiles he cannot afford to take many chances on a miss. A periscope above the water at a distance of 200 or 300 yards makes a fair mark for a gunner working from the deck of a ship thirty or forty feet above the surface of the sea. One shot hitting the mark is all that is needed, as the submarines are of light construction, easily penetrated, and a hole anywhere in the shell spells their doom. It is seldom that a torpedo is fired when a threatened ship can so manoeuvre as to show only her stern for a mark, and in most of the cases of this nature so far reported the submersibles have come to the surface and resorted to gunfire from the deck. In this kind of a fight a gun mounted on a steamship has a great advantage, for the platform offered by a submarine is an unsteady thing to fire from, and despite the smaller target offered the gunners on ships have the better of it. Careful observations made during the last year (1916) of steamers mounting defense guns show that they are in a measure immune from attack—unless it is without warning, as in the case of the California. The number of U-boats that the Germans have lost has made them chary about showing themselves within range of ships on which they see guns, or which they have learned are defensively armed. Other methods of catching submarines, such as nets, bombs, and devices that are Admiralty secrets, are still being used, but the deck gun on steamers in the hands of good marksmen is leading all others in results.

Two conclusions seem to follow from these facts. The figures of losses during the first three weeks of unrestricted submarining show that the average tonnage of ships lost is low, apparently under 2,000 tons per ship. If we deduct the larger ships, like the *Afric* and the *California*, the average of ships sunk is considerably under 2,000 tons. It is probable that these small ships are often unarmed. Their large numbers would make this almost necessary. There are over 12,000 British steamships in commission; with one gun each, this would mean over 12,000 guns, with gun crews; with a gun fore and aft, it would mean 24,000 guns, with crews, to say nothing of the needed structural alterations to support the guns. Here is a large practical difficulty; also, perhaps, the explanation of the fact that the larger steamships seem

nearly immune; they are well armed. The second conclusion is this: So far, only belligerents have armed their ships. Norway, which has lost very heavily, is, as a neutral, debarred, not from putting guns on her ships, so much as from using them. To fire on a duly commissioned war vessel is an act of war, and hitherto this has debarred neutrals from defending themselves. The net result of this situation is to give belligerents a very large and valuable advantage, as against neutrals, throughout the whole field of war commerce.

According to the Board of Trade Jour-

nal of London the first week of the unrestricted warfare by submarines did not affect England's food importations. In the week ended Feb. 10, the first full week of the intensified submarine activities, the amount of wheat imported into the United Kingdom was 2,766,200 cwt. The figures for the corresponding weeks in the three preceding years are: 1916, 1,111,800 cwt.; 1915, 1,839,700 cwt., and 1914, 1,474,400 cwt. The totals of corn, grain, meal and flour imported in the same weeks are: 1917, 4,265,810 cwt.; 1916, 2,456,440 cwt.; 1915, 4,050,044 cwt., and 1914, 2,972,910 cwt.

Two Hundred Americans Lost in Submarine Attacks

AT least 200 Americans, and probably more, went to their deaths through German and Austrian submarine operations up to Feb. 1, 1917. Most of the Americans lost were traveling on unarmed merchant ships. More than 2,000 citizens of other nationalities lost their lives in the attacks which cost the lives of Americans, but they comprise only part of the toll of life taken by submarine warfare.

The cases which involve the United States and Germany are primarily those in which American life was lost or endangered. The first American of whom there is record to lose his life in submarine attack was Leon Chester Thresher, a passenger on the British liner *Falaba*, bound from Liverpool for West Africa, which was torpedoed and sunk March 28, 1915, off Milford, England. The *Falaba*, after a hopeless attempt to escape, stopped and while boats were being lowered and passengers still were aboard, the submarine drove a torpedo into her side, and she went down in ten minutes. Of 242 persons, 136 were saved. Thresher was among the lost.

The first American ship attacked by submarines was the *Gulflight*, an oil tanker, from Port Arthur, Texas, for Rouen, France, torpedoed without warn-

ing off the Scilly Islands May 1, 1915. Two men jumped overboard and were drowned; her Captain died of heart failure. The *Gulflight* did not sink, and was towed to port by British patrols. The German Government acknowledged the attack as an accident, expressed its regrets, and promised to pay damages.

The Lusitania Tragedy

The next attack shocked the civilized world and brought the United States and Germany for the first time to the verge of war. It was the destruction of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915. Unarmed, with 1,257 passengers, of whom 159 were Americans, and a crew of 702, she was torpedoed without warning and sank in twenty-three minutes off Old Head of Kinsale, as she was nearing Liverpool. In all, 1,198 lives were lost, of which 124 were Americans, many of them men of national prominence. The case passed into diplomatic negotiations, which never took final form.

While the *Lusitania* case was still fresh in the public mind a German submarine torpedoed another American ship, the *Nebraskan*, without warning, on May 25, 1915, south of Fastnet Rock. The *Nebraskan's* name was painted on her sides in letters six feet high, but her American

flag had been hauled down at dark, as is the custom at sea. Like the *Gulflight*, the *Nebraskan* owed her safety to her seaworthiness, and she reached port, damaged, under her own steam, and no one was injured. The German Government again expressed its regret for a mistake and promised to pay damages.

Twenty American negro muleteers on the *Leyland* liner *Armenian* were killed June 28, 1915, by shellfire and drowning when the *Armenian* failed to escape with her cargo of army mules from a submersible near the Cornwall coast. The *Armenian* was warned and invited her destruction by flight.

Case of the Orduna

The next submarine attack in which Americans were endangered was unsuccessful, but only because the *Cunard* liner *Orduna* was too speedy for her pursuer. After sending a torpedo just under the *Orduna's* stern, the submarine rained shells after the fleeing liner without hitting the mark, and then gave up the chase. A score or more of Americans were on the ship, and the attack, coming close on the assurances for the safety of passenger liners during the course of the *Lusitania* negotiations, aroused American public opinion to a high pitch. Germany explained that the submarine commander had failed to observe his orders and that more explicit instructions had been issued.

Three Americans were endangered when the Russian steamer *Leo* was torpedoed without warning on her way from Philadelphia to Manchester on July 9, 1915. An American bark, the *Normandy*, which had just been permitted to go on her way by a German submarine, picked up the survivors. Fourteen were lost, but none was American.

On July 25, 1915, came the first complete destruction of an American ship by a submarine. It was the *Leelanaw* of New York, bound from Archangel to Belfast with flax, which is contraband. The American sailing ship *William P. Frye* had been previously sunk in the war, but under different circumstances.

The *Leelanaw*, which was caught off the Orkney Islands, attempted to escape. She finally stopped, as the German submarine

was firing at her, and sent her papers to the submersible by a small boat. The German commander, evidently proceeding on the theory that he could not take the contraband cargo into port, decided to destroy it by sinking the ship. He not only gave the *Leelanaw* crew all the time they required to take to their boats, but after sinking their ship by shot and torpedo took the crew on board the submarine and towed their boats toward the Orkney mainland. Eight miles from land a strange steamer appeared, and he set the crew in their boats and disappeared beneath the surface. The men reached Kirkwall the next morning.

Nicosian and Baralong

On Aug. 19, 1915, came the case of the *Leyland* liner *Nicosian* and the British patrol boat *Baralong*. The *Nicosian*, with mules from New Orleans to Avonmouth, was stopped by a submarine off Ireland, and her crew, including thirty-six Americans, took to the boats.

While the submarine was making ready to destroy the *Nicosian*, the *Baralong* appeared and destroyed the submarine by gunfire, took on the *Nicosian's* crew, and towed the ship to safety. The German Government charged that the British commander ordered his men to take no prisoners among the Germans on the submarine, and that many were deliberately murdered. No Americans were hurt.

The next crisis came on Aug. 19, 1915, when the *White Star* liner *Arabic* from Liverpool to New York was torpedoed without warning near the *Lusitania's* grave, and sunk in about ten minutes. Out of 375 passengers and crew, forty-eight were lost. Thirty Americans were on board and all but two were saved. The German Government contended that the submarine commander thought the *Arabic* was about to ram him and fired in self-defense, but disavowed the act, expressed regret, and gave additional assurances for the future safety of passenger ships, supplementing those previously given in the *Lusitania* case.

One American of the crew of the *Allan* liner *Hesperian* was lost on Sept. 4, 1915, when the ship, returning from Liverpool to Montreal, was torpedoed and sunk without warning off the southern coast of Ireland. The German Admiralty contended that no German submarine was in that vicinity, but a piece of a German torpedo was picked up on the *Hesperian's* deck.

Sinking of the Ancona

Austria's first submarine operations of consequence, and those which brought Germany's closest ally into the situation, began with the destruction of the Italian liner *Ancona* in the Mediterranean on Nov. 7, 1915. With hundreds of passengers, many of them women and children, bound from Naples to New York, the *Ancona* was chased and stopped by an Austrian submarine. Twelve Americans were on board and nine were lost.

Italian official figures say that 308 persons were lost out of 507 on board. Some of the American survivors swore that the Austrian submarine even shelled the lifeboats as the passengers were getting into them. The United States made representations, and the Austrian Government, after some parley, gave assurances which prevented a break.

On Dec. 3, 1915, a submarine, presumably Austrian, fired on the American oil steamer *Communiapaw*, sailing from Portici, Italy, to Alexandria, Egypt. No damage was done to the *Communiapaw* and no one was hurt.

The same submarine, presumably, attacked the American oil steamer *Petrolite* two days later off the coast of Tripoli. A sailor was injured by a shot into the *Petrolite's* engine room, and the submarine continued firing after the *Petrolite* had swung broadside so that the submarine commander could see her name painted on her side and the American flag flying between her masts. The submarine commander finally permitted the *Petrolite* to proceed after he had taken some of her stores. The American Government made representations to Vienna, which replied with a dispute over the facts. Diplomatic negotiations over the case are still unfinished.

The sinking of the Japanese liner *Yasaka Maru*, without warning, in the Mediterranean, on Dec. 21, 1915, threatened to involve the United States because Walter James Leigh, of "American parentage," was on board. His American citizenship has never been formally established. No lives were lost, but the incident was notable as the first action of the war involving Japan outside of the Far East.

Attack on the Persia

A new crisis was developed by the destruction of the British liner *Persia*, on Dec. 30, 1915, southeast of Crete, while on her way to the Orient. American Consul McNeeley, on his way to his post at Aden, was among the 325 persons who lost their lives, of which two or more were Americans. The wake of a torpedo was seen, but no submarine was visible.

Germany, Austria, and Turkey denied responsibility. The United States again made representations and assurances were given for what Germany termed "cruiser warfare," which involved a promise not to sink any peaceful ships without warning or providing for the safety of those aboard.

With the passing of Winter Germany declared a new policy of sinking without warning any merchant ship carrying any armament whatever, and on March 1 the submarine campaign was resumed with renewed vigor.

Promptly on the first day of the new campaign the French liner *Patria*, carrying no armament, sailing from Naples to New York, was attacked without warning by a submarine north of Tunis. Passengers and crew saw the torpedoes pass under the *Patria's*

stern and some saw a periscope. The *Patria* put on full speed and escaped further attack, but had another narrow escape in the same way the next month. Americans were on board in both instances.

On March 9, 1916, the Norwegian bark *Silius*, while lying at anchor in Havre Roads, was torpedoed and sunk without warning. A survivor of the French steamer *Louisiane*, torpedoed fifteen minutes previously, 500 yards away, swore that he saw the submarine. There were seven Americans in the crew of the *Silius* and one was injured. Three men, not Americans, lost their lives. Germany disclaimed responsibility.

The next great passenger ship destroyed was the Dutch liner *Tubantia*. While she was in the North Sea, bound for Rio de Janeiro, an explosion rent the ship asunder, and she sank. Three Americans were passengers. All persons on board were saved except one Russian. Germany disclaimed responsibility for its submarines, torpedo boats, or mines. The Dutch Government made an investigation which indicated a submarine attack, and members of the *Tubantia's* crew testified to seeing the wake of a torpedo, but did not see a submarine.

On March 18, 1916, the British steamer *Berwindvale*, with four Americans on board, was torpedoed without warning off Bantry, Ireland, but no lives were lost.

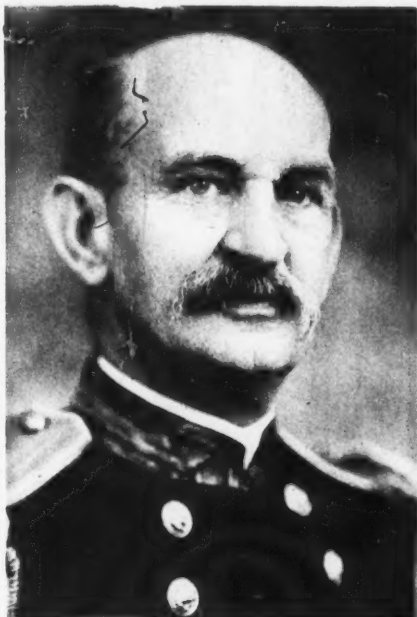
On March 24, 1916, a German submarine chased the Dominion liner *Englishman*, bound from Avonmouth for Portland, Me., and while the crew was attempting to abandon the ship, shot away her starboard lifeboats. After more firing, as the crew was leaving the ship, the submarine torpedoed and sank her. One American of the crew was among the ten men lost. Many other Americans were aboard, having signed as Canadians. One of the rescued Americans testified that the submarine was the U-19.

The Crucial Sussex Case

On the same day came the culmination of a long list of submarine outrages, which caused President Wilson to lay the situation before Congress. This was the destruction of the French Channel steamer *Sussex* between Folkestone and Dieppe. All the evidence went to prove that the ship was torpedoed without warning, and, although Germany at first disclaimed responsibility, the statements which the Berlin Foreign Office made in its disclaimer went to prove that a submarine destroyed the ship. With bows shot away, the *Sussex*, kept afloat by her watertight bulkheads, was towed to Boulogne. Among her wreckage were found parts of a torpedo which, when compared with captured German torpedoes at the French naval station at Toulon, were pronounced by British, French, and American naval officers to be parts of the "warhead" of the German *Schwartzkopf* torpedo.

On March 27, 1916, the British ship *Manchester Engineer*, outbound from Philadel-

UNITED STATES NAVAL COMMANDERS



Admiral Henry T. Mayo
Commander in Chief
(© Harris & Ewing.)



Admiral William B. Caperton
Commanding Pacific Fleet



Rear Adm. Frank E. Fletcher
Navy General Board



Admiral W. S. Benson
Chief of Naval Operations

UNITED STATES ARMY OFFICERS



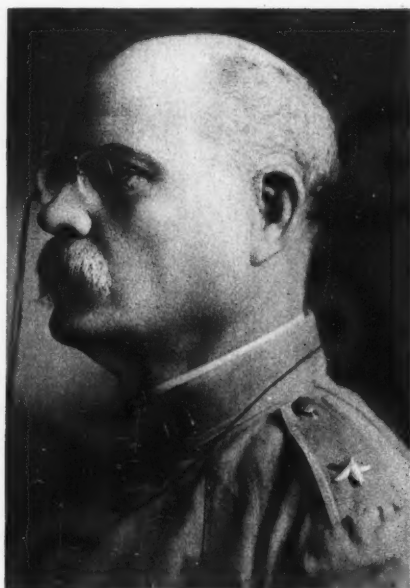
Major General Hugh L. Scott
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Army General Staff
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phia, was torpedoed and sunk without warning thirteen miles south of Waterford, and the crew saw the periscope of a submarine for ten minutes. Two American negroes were in the crew of thirty-three. All on board were rescued.

The next day the British steamer *Eagle Point* was shelled by a German submarine 130 miles south of Queenstown. The *Eagle Point* gave up her attempt to escape, and her crew of forty-two, which included one American, took to the boats in a heavy swell and a stormy wind. All were saved. The submarine came up and sank the ship with a torpedo.

After Germany gave her promise as the result of the *Sussex* notes there was a temporary lull in submarine warfare, but within a few weeks it began again. By Oct. 1, 1916, the British Government has stated, 262 vessels had been destroyed by German submarines, following the *Sussex* case, and at least fifteen had been sunk without the warning Germany had promised she would give. The American State Department compiled reports on all the cases through diplomatic and Consular agencies, and about Oct. 1, 1916, it was stated officially that nothing had been found in any which could be taken as proof of a violation of Germany's promises.

Visit of the U-53

The next development came when Germany carried the submarine war to the American side of the Atlantic. On Saturday, Oct. 7, 1916, the German war submarine U-53 entered Newport Harbor unannounced, delivered a package of mail for the German Embassy, and departed as swiftly, as silently, as she had come. Within forty-eight hours afterward she sank five ships within sight of the American coast—three British, one Dutch, and one Norwegian. With the assistance of American destroyers, which witnessed the operations, all lives were saved. In each case the submarine commander gave legal warning and permitted the escape of passengers and crew.

Nothing was developed to show any breach of faith on Germany's part, although there was some discussion of whether the operation did not constitute an offense to the United States and, in fact, a pacific blockade of the American coast. There was some talk of asking Germany to keep her ships away from American ports, as had been done in the case of Great Britain's cruisers early in the war. But as the U-53 disappeared without sinking more ships, the matter did not reach a head.

In the meantime, however, the United States declined to accede to the view of the Allies that neutrals should bar their ports to submarines of all kinds, whether war or merchant.

On Oct. 26, 1916, the British merchant ship *Rowanmore* was attacked by a German submarine. She fled, but was overhauled and destroyed by gunfire. There was no loss of life, although two Americans and five Filipinos, (naturalized Americans,) the only Americans on board, stated that the submarine shelled the lifeboats as they were leaving the ship.

On Oct. 30 the British ship *Marina*, bound for the United States, was torpedoed and six of the fifty Americans on board were lost. Survivors said that two submarines torpedoed the ship without warning, and that the boats were compelled to leave her more than 100 miles from land in a heavy sea.

Investigation was ordered, and the German Government was asked for its version of the affair. It developed that the *Marina* had a 4.7-inch gun mounted astern, but survivors said no attempt was made nor opportunity had to use it. It was the first case of loss of American life since the *Sussex* case.

Then followed the attack on the American steamer *Chemung*, the loss of seventeen Americans on the steamer *Russian*, and, finally, on Jan. 31, a notice that a campaign of ruthlessness was to begin on Feb. 1, irrespective of the consequences.

A Net to Protect New York Harbor

AN ingenious contrivance to protect New York Harbor from submarines has been constructed, consisting of a heavy steel wire net stretched between Sandy Hook and Rockaway Point, crossing the three channels—the Swash, the old Main Ship Channel, and the Ambrose Channel.

During daylight, when torpedo boat destroyers, airplanes, and a mosquito fleet, which will be created for the purpose, are sufficient to make it impossible for any

undersea craft to approach the harbor undetected, the net will be lowered so as to permit vessels to pass through the channels. From sunset to sunrise the net will be raised to bar all ingress for submarines at any depth. Similar steps are also being taken for the protection of other harbors on the Atlantic Coast; a net to protect the Norfolk Channel at Hampton Roads was in position by Feb. 20.

Netting is the first and most obvious

method for the defense of a harbor at night and in heavy fogs. It has proved so successful that no submarine has yet been able to operate successfully in any English or French harbor. Hundreds of miles of heavy netting are in use in English waters, and outside of the German coast nets have been stretched for the entanglement and capture of submarines.

Though the Germans say that they have perfected a device for cutting nets which enables their submarines to escape from wire meshes of the weight used by the British during the first two years of the war, no submarine equipped to hack itself through netting has invaded British harbors, and it is concluded that they avoid encounters with nets whenever possible, even if they are sometimes able to extricate themselves.

No details have been made public about the weight of the netting used by the

Navy Department or about the size of the meshes, but it is said that the net is strong enough to bar entrance to the harbor to undersea boats of any type yet known.

The Navy Department has kept closely in touch with the methods of defense against submarines which have been used by the British and French to make vessels safe while resting at anchor. One device which is in general use to give warning of the approach of a submarine to a harbor is a detectaphone which reproduces sounds in the water and indicates the presence of a submarine when the motion of a propeller is caught in water which is not used for ordinary shipping.

The Ambrose Channel, which is the principal entrance to New York Harbor, is 2,000 feet wide and 40 feet deep. The old Main Ship Channel used prior to the Summer of 1913 has a width of 1,000 feet and a depth of 30 feet.

Entente Shipbuilding vs. U-Boats

THE announcement by Berlin of unrestricted U-boat warfare finds the balance even between loss due to war causes and new construction, in the tonnage of allied merchantmen. Slightly more than 3,000,000 tons of merchant shipping was the toll exacted by submarines up to Feb. 1, while new construction since the declaration of war in shipyards of England and her allies, France, Russia, Italy and Japan, has totaled 2,800,000 tons to Feb. 1, 1917. Portugal, the newest ally, added about 150,000 tons of confiscated German shipping, while recent purchases from Greece and other neutral nations have swelled the ranks of Entente shipping to a total higher than the losses.

According to Lloyd's Register the merchant tonnage built in England, France, Russia, Italy and Japan in 1913 was 1,450,908. In 1914 it amounted to 2,198,765 tons, of which 900,000 was launched after the outbreak of war. The 1915 total fell to 836,946. Last year saw an increase of 965,499.

How nearly the Entente shipping

stands at par after two years of the war is shown by Lloyd's figures comparing the tonnage owned in July, 1914, with that of July, 1916, for the five nations. England was the chief sufferer, her tonnage in 1914 being 21,045,049, and two years later 20,901,999, a net loss of only 143,000 tons. Italy shows the greatest gain, owing to her late entrance into hostilities, from 1,668,296 to 1,896,534 tons, a net gain of 228,238 tons. The Entente nations as a whole registered a slight gain of 136,000 tons for this period.

Since last Summer the U-boat campaign has become more severe. Figures compiled by the Federal Bureau of Navigation from reliable sources give the loss from war causes for 1916 as 2,082,683 tons, as against a total of new construction for the year of 1,899,943 tons. According to another trustworthy estimate* the Entente nations lost 2,000,000 tons during 1916, England losing 1,600,000 as against new construction of 600,000 for the year; France lost 200,000 tons, as

*Journal of Commerce Statistics.

against only 39,000 launched; Japan put in commission 246,000 tons, against a debit of 16,000.

Lloyd's Register gives the allied shipping at the outbreak of war as 27,794,000 tons, (exclusive of Belgium.) Of this total 10.8 per cent. has been lost by war causes. New construction and confisca-

tion of enemy shipping has made good completely the depreciation. Even in 1916, when the U-boat campaign was at its worst, the loss on the basis of sailings was slightly more than one-half of 1 per cent. For every 180 merchant vessels that left the allied ports one was sunk by mines or submarines.

New British Blockade in the North Sea

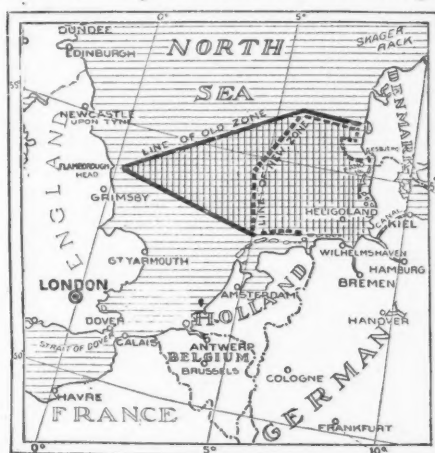
THE British Admiralty announced on Jan. 27 that the mined area in the North Sea had been enlarged. The previous district banned as dangerous on account of mines was a rectangular area extending from the mouth of the Scheldt River opposite Flushing to the Kentish Knock Lightship and Goodwin Sands Lightship, opposite the entrance to the Thames. This field was established to bar the entry of German naval forces into the Strait of Dover and the English Channel. The new area is designed to serve as a bulwark against the egress of the German Fleet from the Kiel Canal and its various bases on the North Sea coast of Germany.

By this action the British Government barred to merchant shipping practically all the area of the North Sea east of the Dogger Banks, between a point high on the Danish coast to a point where the Dutch coast makes its wide bend eastward, the Danish and Dutch territorial waters being excluded.

The Admiralty on Feb. 13 announced a modification of this area, designating new limitations "in view of unrestricted warfare carried on by Germany." The new zone makes important concessions to neutrals. The zone, laid out in the proclamation of Jan. 27, extended in a fan-like shape from off Flamborough Head on the east coast of England to the Dutch and Danish coasts, and covered the entire North Sea coast of Germany.

After this vast area had been proclaimed by England as dangerous, Germany established its submarine blockade, the eastern boundary of which in the North Sea extended along the line of 4 degrees 50 minutes east longitude from Terschelling Lightship to Udsire

Lightship on the Norwegian coast. Later Germany moved part of the eastern boundary of its North Sea danger



GREAT BRITAIN'S NEW "ZONE OF DANGER" area to the line marked by 4 degrees east longitude.

The original British danger area, which was established so as to extend much further west of 4 degrees east longitude, has been changed so that all of it is east of 4 degrees 30 minutes east longitude.

There has thus been established, by England's action as well as by Germany's recent modification, an irregular lane, the narrowest neck of which is thirty miles wide, through which shipping may pass between the Danish, Norwegian, and Holland coasts without skirting their respective coasts. This newly established lane restores an open sea route to and from Holland through an irregularly shaped zone, which lies between the German danger area on the west and the British danger area on the east.

The German Submarine Record

Details of Chief Vessels Sunk, With Diplomatic Developments

GERMAN methods of submarine warfare, which have at last caused the breaking of friendly relations between the United States and Germany, have a record extending from October, 1914, to the present time. According to a statement published by the German Admiralty, 1,303 merchant vessels had been sunk by the Teutonic allies up to June 30, 1916. A later statement, issued officially at Berlin, claimed a total of 4,000,000 tons of Entente shipping destroyed up to the beginning of 1917, including 3,000,000 tons under the British flag. These figures, however, are believed to be in excess of the facts. According to Lloyd's Register, the total to Feb. 1 was a little more than 3,000,000 tons.

According to Germany's official claims, the month of December, 1916, brought the destruction of 152 merchant ships of the Entente Powers and 65 neutral vessels, "sunk because of their transportation of contraband to the enemy," making 415,000 tonnage destroyed in that month alone. The record for January was on a similar scale. That for the first two weeks of February—under the policy of "intensified warfare"—was 101 ships of 208,010 tonnage sunk.

A valuable summary of the leading cases of this kind from the beginning of the war to the end of last October, with dates, details, and diplomatic developments, recently appeared in the semi-official *Nouvelles de France*, from which it is here translated for *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*. All direct quotations from diplomatic notes have been verified from the official text:

Period Preceding the Lusitania Case

Oct. 26, 1914—The French steamship *Amiral Ganteaume* is torpedoed without warning while transporting from Calais to La Pallice 2,500 refugees from the North of Belgium. Thirty sailors and passengers are killed or drowned; the others are saved,

thanks to the proximity of the coast and the swiftness of the aid furnished.

Jan. 29, 1915—The French Government addresses to the neutral powers a memorandum protesting against the torpedoing of the *Amiral Ganteaume*. This memorandum states the facts ascertained after a careful investigation. "The attack upon the French steamer and its passengers," it says, "was committed by a vessel of the Imperial German Navy: (1) Without daring to show its colors; (2) without visit, order, or warning; (3) upon a defenseless passenger ship loaded with women, children, and old men; (4) without any military, strategic, or naval utility, and without any other possible result than the murder of inoffensive persons and the destruction of a merchant vessel outside of all possibility of capture and subsequent judgment in a prize court." The Government of the republic brings these facts to the knowledge of the powers which at the second peace conference (session of Oct. 9, 1907) had received, as the memorandum recalls, from Baron Marshal von Bieberstein, first German plenipotentiary, the following declaration: "The officers of the German Navy, I say it emphatically, will always fulfill in the strictest manner the duties based on the unwritten law of humanity and civilization."

Jan. 30, 1915—Torpedoing by German submarines of the English steamships *Take Maru* and *Icaria* in the North Sea, and of the English steamships *Linda Blanche* and *Ben Cruachen* in the Irish Sea. The two former were torpedoed without the required warning; the others after an examination of papers and a notice to the crews to leave the ships.

Jan. 31, 1915—Protest of the French Minister of Marine against these acts.

Feb. 1, 1915—A German submarine fires a torpedo at the English hospital ship *Asturias* without hitting it.

Feb. 3, 1915—Note from the French Minister of Marine protesting against the attack on the *Asturias* and invoking the immunity guaranteed to hospital ships by Convention X., signed at The Hague on Oct. 18, 1907.

Feb. 3, 1915—Memorandum from Germany to the neutral powers declaring "all the waters around Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole of the English Channel, a war zone," and announcing that on and after Feb. 18 Germany "will attempt to destroy every enemy ship found in that war zone, without its being always possible to

avoid the danger that will thus threaten neutral persons and ships." Germany gives warning that "it cannot be responsible hereafter for the safety of crews, passengers, and cargoes of such ships," and it furthermore "calls the attention of neutrals to the fact that it would be well for their ships to avoid entering this zone, for, although the German naval forces are instructed to avoid all violence to neutral ships, in so far as these can be recognized, the order given by the British Government to hoist neutral flags and the contingencies of naval warfare might be the cause of these ships becoming the victims of an attack directed against the vessels of the enemy."

The War Zone Controversy

Feb. 10, 1915—American note in reply to the German memorandum. It states that the American Government views the possibilities referred to in this memorandum "with such grave concern, that it feels it to be its privilege, and, indeed, its duty, in the circumstances to request the Imperial German Government to consider before action is taken the critical situation in respect of the relation between this country and Germany which might arise were the German naval forces, in carrying out the policy foreshadowed in the Admiralty's proclamation, to destroy any merchant vessel of the United States or cause the death of American citizens. * * * To declare and exercise a right to attack and destroy any vessel entering a prescribed area of the high seas without first certainly determining its belligerent nationality and the contraband character of its cargo would be an act so unprecedented in naval warfare that this Government is reluctant to believe that the Imperial Government of Germany in this case contemplates it as possible."

After stating that the destruction of American ships or American lives on the high seas would be difficult to reconcile with the friendly relations existing between the two Governments, the note adds that the United States "would be constrained to hold the Imperial Government of Germany to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities, and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas."

Feb. 15, 1915—Note from the German Admiralty indicating that after Feb. 18 Germany will make war by all the means in her power against the British merchant marine in the war zone, and warning neutrals not to enter that zone because they would expose themselves to the same risks "as if they sailed through the midst of naval battles"—risks "for which Germany disowns all responsibility."

Feb. 17, 1915—Germany answers the American note. She holds that the creation of a war zone is a reply to the war methods of England, which are contrary to the law of nations, and that it is a means for hindering

the importation of war materials into England and the allied countries. She asks the American Government to advise merchant ships of that nationality to avoid the war zone.

Attempt at Modus Vivendi

Feb. 22, 1915—American note containing certain suggestions for the establishment of a modus vivendi among the belligerents; one of the articles of this modus vivendi proposes that no Government should use submarines to attack merchant vessels of any nationality except to enforce the right of visit and search; on the other hand, England should allow foodstuffs to pass through to the German civil population.

Feb. 28, 1915—Germany replies to the preceding note. She declares herself favorable to the establishment of a modus vivendi, but with modifications. She subordinates the observance of general rules of international law by submarines to the condition that merchant ships shall not be armed; she exacts, besides, that Germany be permitted to import articles of prime necessity indicated in the free list of the Declaration of London, (cotton, rubber, ores, &c.;) she suggests, likewise, that the importation of war munitions from neutral to belligerent countries be forbidden.

March 1, 1915—Declaration of France and England criticising as contrary to international law the German policy of torpedoing at sight, in the war zone, every merchant ship under every flag, without regard for the safety of the crew and passengers. The declaration announces the purpose of the Allies to employ methods of reprisal consistent with the principles of humanity, and consisting in the interception of merchandise destined for Germany or proceeding from Germany.

March 10, 1915—Declaration from the German Ambassador at Washington attributing to an error the attack on the hospital ship *Asturias*.

March 13, 1915—British memorandum to the United States. It indicates that, as the Germans refuse to renounce the use of mines for offensive purposes, and are not disposed to discontinue their attacks on merchant ships, it is useless to examine the terms of the proposed modus vivendi.

March 13, 1915—Torpedoing of the *Hanna*, a Swedish vessel; six victims.

March 28, 1915—Torpedoing of the British steamer *Falaba* by a German submarine. The torpedoes are fired while the crew and passengers are entering the small boats. More than 100 persons, including Mr. Thrasher, an American citizen, perish with the ship.

April 8, 1915—A German submarine torpedoes the steamer *Harpyce*, in the service of the American Commission for the Aid of Belgium, and provided with a safe conduct issued by the German Minister at The Hague; fifteen victims.

May 1, 1915—American steamer *Gulflight* torpedoed by a German submarine, entailing the death of two Americans.

May 1, 1915—Count von Bernstorff, German Ambassador, publishes in the American newspapers a notice informing the public that allied vessels entering the war zone are liable to destruction, and that neutral passengers traveling on such vessels will do so at their own risk.

Sinking of the Lusitania

May 7, 1915—The British passenger steamer *Lusitania* is torpedoed without warning by a German submarine; 1,198 victims, of whom 124 were American citizens.

May 13, 1915—Note from Secretary of State Bryan to Germany. The American Government declares itself unable to believe that such acts as the destruction of the *Falaba*, the *Gulflight*, and the *Lusitania*, "acts so absolutely contrary to the rules, practice, and spirit of modern warfare," can have the sanction of the German Government. The adoption of measures of reprisal so far exceeding ordinary methods of maritime warfare, the warning against the danger of traversing a so-called zone of war, cannot limit the rights of commanders of American vessels or of American citizens traveling legally as passengers on commercial vessels of belligerent nationality. The American Government cannot believe that the German Government questions these rights.

"It assumes, on the contrary, that the Imperial Government accept, as of course, the rule that the lives of noncombatants, whether they be of neutral citizenship or citizens of one of the nations at war, cannot lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unarmed merchantman, and recognize also, as all other nations do, the obligation to take the usual precaution of visit and search to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag."

The note goes on to point out the practical impossibility of employing submarines for the destruction of commerce without "disregarding those rules of fairness, reason, justice, and humanity which all modern opinion regards as imperative. It is practically impossible for the officers of a submarine to visit a merchantman at sea and examine her papers and cargo. It is practically impossible for them to make a prize of her; and if they cannot put a prize crew on board of her, they cannot sink her without leaving her crew and all on board of her to the mercy of the sea in her small boats." In the cases cited the necessary time was not allowed for taking the most elementary measures of safety, and in at least two of them no warning was given. The notice published in the newspapers, and supposed to come from the German Embassy, cannot be accepted as an excuse. The American Government wishes to believe that the German submarines have disobeyed orders, and that the German Government will disavow the acts in question, make reparation for them, and take imme-

diately measures to prevent their repetition. The note concludes:

"Expressions of regret and offers of reparation in case of the destruction of neutral ships sunk by mistake, while they may satisfy international obligations if no loss of life results, cannot justify or excuse a practice the natural and necessary effect of which is to subject neutral nations and neutral persons to new and immeasurable risks. The Imperial Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens, and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

May 25, 1915—American steamship *Nebraskan* attacked by a German submarine, which fires a torpedo without warning.

May 28, 1915—Foreign Secretary von Jagow replies. The attack on the *Gulflight* is explained as an error due to the fact that English ships use the American flag. The *Falaba* had been allowed only a brief time for the escape of passengers and crew because that vessel had tried to escape. As to the *Lusitania*, it was an auxiliary cruiser; it had guns hidden under the deck; it was transporting Canadian troops and munitions of war; the rapidity with which it sank was due to an explosion of munitions caused by the torpedo, "otherwise, in all human probability, the passengers of the *Lusitania* would have been saved." The German Government submits all these facts to the American Government and reserves its final decision until it shall have received a reply.

June 1, 1915—Note from von Jagow declaring that the torpedoing of the *Gulflight* is the result of an error, for which the marine commander was not to blame, and offering to pay an indemnity.

June 2, 1915—Count von Bernstorff proposes to President Wilson: (1) The cessation of submarine warfare if the United States insist on obtaining from England the freedom of Germany to import foodstuffs, cotton, and materials of prime necessity; (2) immunity of vessels and passengers coming from American ports if the United States will guarantee that these vessels are not carrying contraband of war. President Wilson rejects these suggestions and holds to the terms of his note of May 13.

Reply in Lusitania Case

June 9, 1915—American reply to the German notes of May 28 and June 1. As regards the case of the *Falaba*, the United States Government is surprised to find the German Government holding that an effort on the part of a merchant ship to escape can modify the obligation to safeguard the lives of those on board. "Nothing but actual forcible resistance or continued efforts to escape by flight when ordered to stop for the purpose of visit on the part of the merchantman has ever been held to forfeit the lives

of her passengers or crew." The German Government is misinformed when it asserts that the Lusitania was carrying troops or was armed for offense.

"Whatever be the other facts regarding the Lusitania, the principal fact is that a great steamer, primarily and chiefly a conveyance for passengers, and carrying more than a thousand souls that had no part or lot in the conduct of the war, was torpedoed and sunk without so much as a challenge or a warning, and that men, women, and children were sent to their death in circumstances unparalleled in modern warfare. The fact that more than one hundred American citizens were among those who perished made it the duty of the Government of the United States to speak of these things and once more, with solemn emphasis, to call the attention of the Imperial German Government to the grave responsibility which the Government of the United States conceives that it has incurred in this tragic occurrence, and to the indisputable principle upon which that responsibility rests. * * * The Government of the United States, therefore, deems it reasonable to expect that the Imperial German Government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles into practice in respect of the safeguarding of American lives and American ships, and asks for assurances that this will be done."

[Remark.—The foregoing note does not radically condemn the use of submarines against commercial vessels, as did the note of May 13. It limits itself to requiring that this use shall be combined with respect for neutral ships and for the lives of noncombatants.]

July 8, 1915—Germany replies to the American note of June 9. She asserts that all the evil is due to Germany's enemies, who have paralyzed commerce between Germany and neutral countries contrary to international law, and that this obliges Germany to make submarine war upon commerce. In the fight for existence which has been imposed upon Germany by her adversaries it is the sacred duty of the Imperial Government to do all within its power to protect and save the lives of German subjects. The case of the Lusitania "shows with horrible clearness to what jeopardizing of human lives the manner of conducting war employed by our adversaries leads." * * * The German Government declares itself "ready to do all it can during the present war also to prevent the jeopardizing of lives of American citizens. In order to exclude any unforeseen dangers to American passenger steamers, made possible in view of the conduct of maritime war by Germany's adversaries, German submarines will be instructed to permit the free and safe passage of such passenger steamers when made recognizable by special markings and notified a reasonable time in advance." * * * The note remarks in closing that with such an arrangement there would

be no compelling necessity for American citizens to travel to Europe in vessels carrying an enemy flag in time of war, and that "in particular the Imperial Government is unable to admit that American citizens can protect an enemy ship through the mere fact of their presence on board."

[Remark.—Germany here proposes the establishment of a *modus vivendi* comprising, on the one hand, immunity for American vessels on condition that the Federal Government prevent their carrying contraband, and, on the other hand, the torpedoing of merchant ships of belligerents without regard to neutral passengers.]

July 9, 1915—The English passenger steamer *Orduna*, plying from Liverpool to New York, with 227 passengers, of whom 21 are Americans, is attacked without warning by a German submarine, which fires a torpedo, followed by several shells, without hitting the vessel.

July 12, 1915—Germany sends a memorandum stating that the attack on the *Nebraskan* was a "regrettable accident," due to an error, for which the commander of the submarine was not to blame. The German Government expresses its regrets, and declares itself ready to repair the damages suffered by American citizens.

July 21, 1915—America replies to the German note of July 8. The note is declared "very unsatisfactory," because it fails to indicate the way in which the accepted principles of law and humanity may be applied to the grave matter in controversy, but proposes, on the contrary, arrangements for a partial suspension of those principles. It is vain for the German Government to seek to justify its acts by representing them as reprisals against illegal acts by England. On the one hand, the United States cannot discuss the policy of England save with the British Government itself, and, on the other hand, reprisals directed against the enemy ought not to harm the lives or property of neutrals. The American Government is ready to take into account the new aspects of naval warfare, but cannot assent to the diminution of any essential or fundamental right of its citizens. "The rights of neutrals in time of war are based on principle, not upon expediency, and the principles are immutable." The American Government cannot accept the suggestion that "certain vessels shall be designated and agreed upon which shall be free on the seas now illegally proscribed. The very agreement would, by implication, subject other vessels to illegal attack, and would be a curtailment and, therefore, an abandonment of the principles for which this Government contends, and which in times of calmer council every nation would concede as of course." The American Government concludes by declaring that "repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of these rights must be regarded by the Government of the United

States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly."

Aug. 19, 1915—The British steamer *Arabic*, bound from Liverpool to New York, is torpedoed without warning at the moment when it is approaching the English steamship *Dulsley*, just struck by a torpedo, in order to rescue the crew. Sixteen victims, including two Americans.

Aug. 24, 1915—Count von Bernstorff communicates to the State Department the instructions he has received in regard to the *Arabic*. After making all reserves as to the facts, the note says that the loss of American lives is contrary to the intention of the German Government, and is deeply regretted.

Germany's Promise to Reform

Sept. 1, 1915—A letter from Count von Bernstorff informs Mr. Lansing that his instructions contain the following passage: "Passenger liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without taking measures to secure the safety of the lives of noncombatants, on condition that the steamers shall not try to escape or offer resistance."

Sept. 4, 1915—The English passenger steamer *Hesperian*, bound from Liverpool to Montreal, is torpedoed without warning; twenty-five deaths, including one American, and twenty persons injured. The English inquest establishes the fact that this vessel was torpedoed; the German view, however, is that it struck a mine. The American Government, considering the case doubtful, merely places the incident on file.

Sept. 7, 1915—The German Government hands a communication to the American Ambassador. It states that the *Arabic* was torpedoed without warning because the submarine commander was convinced that the vessel intended to attack and ram him. The German Government regards itself as under no obligation to pay an indemnity, even if the commander of the submarine was mistaken as to the intentions of the *Arabic*.

Sept. 9, 1915—German memorandum to the United States, declaring that "the attack on the *Orduna* by means of a torpedo was not in accord with existing instructions, which stipulate that large passenger steamers can be torpedoed only after due warning and after the passengers and crew have been placed in safety"; the error will not occur again, as more precise instructions have been given.

Sept. 12, 1915—Mr. Lansing communicates to Count von Bernstorff the unanimous testimony of the survivors of the *Arabic* that the vessel was peacefully pursuing its course when it was unexpectedly torpedoed.

Sept. 21, 1915—The newspapers publish a communication from Foreign Secretary von Jagow declaring that enemy ships carrying passengers will not be attacked without warning or without taking precautions to safeguard the lives of the passengers and crews; that, moreover, merchant ships will have nothing to fear from submarines if they do not carry contraband of war.

September, 1915—About the end of this month England, in concert with Russia, organizes submarine cruises in the Baltic against merchant vessels. These cruisers are conducted in conformity with the rules of international law regarding visit and search, and the safeguarding of the lives of noncombatants.

Oct. 5, 1915—A letter from Count von Bernstorff to Mr. Lansing disavowing in the name of his Government the torpedoing of the *Arabic*; the German Government expresses regrets and promises an indemnity. The letter adds that orders given to submarines have been made so rigorous that the recurrence of such incidents is considered impossible.

Torpedoing of the Ancona

Nov. 8, 1915—The Italian passenger steamer *Ancona*, bound from Italy to America, is fired upon without warning, torpedoed, and sunk between Sardinia and the coast of Tunisia by a submarine flying the Austro-Hungarian flag; the fire is directed in part against the lifeboats; more than 200 victims, including twenty Americans. (This act was committed outside of the war zone proclaimed on Feb. 4, 1915; it was in September, 1915, that German and Austrian submarines began to attack merchant ships in the Mediterranean.)

November, 1915—Protest of the Italian Government to the neutral nations against the destruction of the *Ancona* in violation of the fundamental laws of humanity and of the right which requires the belligerents to do all in their power, whatever the circumstances, to save the lives of noncombatants.

Dec. 5, 1915—Attack on the *Petrolite*, an American oil tank steamer, by an Austrian submarine that fires on it without warning, and continues to fire, wounding one man, after the vessel has stopped; in the end the submarine exacts a tribute of provisions from this vessel. The United States demands apology and reparation. Austria alleges that the submarine had mistaken the *Petrolite* for an enemy in disguise. The United States replies, (note of June 26, 1916,) that such a fear was without valid grounds, and that the conduct of the submarine commander showed an absolute lack of judgment and presence of mind, or else a well-matured intention equivalent to complete contempt for the rights of neutrals.

Dec. 9, 1915—A note from the United States to Austria-Hungary on the destruction of the *Ancona*. The American Government, referring to the views it had expressed in its correspondence with Austria's ally, considers that the commander of the submarine "violated the principles of international law and of humanity by shelling and torpedoing the *Ancona* before the persons on board had been put in a place of safety or even given sufficient time to leave the vessel"; this was "a wanton slaughter of defenseless noncombatants." It refuses to believe that the Austro-Hungarian Government sanctions such acts; it thinks that the sub-

marine commander acted in violation of his instructions, and it therefore "demands that the Imperial and Royal Government denounce the sinking of the Ancona as an illegal and indefensible act; that the officer who perpetrated the deed be punished, and that reparation by the payment of an indemnity be made for the citizens of the United States who were killed or injured by the attack on the vessel."

Dec. 14, 1915—Baron von Burian hands an answer to the American Ambassador. It is a document of a dilatory nature. It states that the American note does not contain enough material proofs, that it does not give the names of the American victims on the Ancona, that it does not enunciate the judicial principles adopted by the Federal Government, but refers to a correspondence with another Government, with which the Government at Vienna has no authentic relation. Consequently it demands of the United States a more precise statement of rights and of facts.

Dec. 21, 1915—A second American note on the Ancona. It refers to the fact that the report of the Austro-Hungarian Admiralty states that the engines were stopped and the passengers still on board when the steamer was torpedoed. This is enough to show that there was a violation of the universally established rules of international law; the evidence is so clear that the Government of the United States has no need to discuss it, and does not understand that the Austro-Hungarian Government doubts it. It therefore renews its former demands.

Dec. 29, 1915—Austria replies on the subject of the Ancona. She communicates the result of an investigation and takes her stand upon this to impute the loss of human lives to the bad conduct of the crew of the Ancona. Nevertheless, she announces that the commander of the submarine has been punished for not obeying his instructions. The Austro-Hungarian Government promises, with slight reservations, to indemnify the victims. It reserves the right, however, to discuss later the difficult international questions arising out of submarine warfare.

Dec. 30, 1915—The Clan MacFarlane, a British vessel sailing from England to Bombay, is torpedoed without warning amid a violent storm in the Mediterranean. Fifty of the men cannot be saved.

The British passenger liner Persia is sunk in the Mediterranean; 335 victims, including several Americans. No submarine having been seen, Germany and Austria-Hungary declare that, according to the reports of their naval officers, this destruction was not caused by any of their submarines.

Jan. 7, 1916—The German Embassy at Washington issues a memorandum indicating that the submarines have received orders to conform to the general principles of international law in their operations against commerce in the Mediterranean; the measures of reprisal used in the war zone around the British Isles are not to apply in the Mediter-

anean. German submarines will not destroy enemy merchant ships that do not try to escape or to resist until after having assured the safety of the passengers and crews.

Question of Armed Merchantmen

Jan. 18, 1916—Secretary Lansing writes a letter to the diplomatic representatives of England, France, Italy, Belgium, and Japan at Washington, suggesting the establishment of a *modus vivendi* by the Allies on the following basis: Submarines will not attack enemy merchantmen without warning and will not sink them until after having placed passengers and crews in safety; the merchantmen will carry no armament.

Feb. 8, 1916—Germany sends a memorandum to the neutral powers announcing that armed merchant vessels of Germany's enemies will be treated as warships and attacked as such; the neutral powers are asked to warn their citizens not to intrust their lives or property to such ships.

Feb. 10, 1916—Austria-Hungary sends a memorandum to the neutral powers on the same subject.

Feb. 15, 1916—Secretary Lansing tells representatives of the American press that by international law commercial vessels have the right to carry arms in self-defense.

Feb. 24, 1916—President Wilson writes a letter to Mr. Stone, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in the Senate. He refuses to advise American citizens not to travel on armed merchant ships belonging to Germany's enemies, because this would be to renounce the inalienable rights of Americans based on principles established by all nations to lessen the horror and sufferings of war. It would be "an implicit, all but an explicit, acquiescence in the violation of the rights of mankind everywhere," and an "abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesmen, even amid the turmoil of war, for the law and the right."

March 3, 1916—The American Senate tables the Gore resolution, in which it had been intended to warn Americans not to travel on armed vessels of belligerents.

March 7, 1916—The House of Representatives takes similar action.

March 8, 1916—The German Ambassador to the United States communicates a memorandum regarding the naval measures adopted by the belligerents. It states that Germany in February, 1915, was compelled by her enemies to resort to "a new weapon, the use of which had not yet been regulated by international law, and in doing so could not, and did not, violate any existing rules, but only took into account the peculiarity of this new weapon, the submarine boat"; furthermore, this action was one of retaliation against the deeds of England.

The Tubantia and Palembang

March 15-16, 1916—During the night and in a wild sea the Dutch steamer Tubantia, carrying passengers, is torpedoed without warn-

ing. The German press pretends that the ship struck a mine, and even intimates that it may have been torpedoed by an English submarine. The British Admiralty issues a denial of this rumor, and adds that no mine was laid by the English fleet in the region where the sinking occurred. On the other hand, the German Legation assures the press of Holland that no German submarine or torpedo boat caused the loss of the *Tubantia*, and that the Germans have not planted mines in that locality. A Dutch investigation establishes the fact that the explosion was caused by a Schwartzkopf torpedo of bronze, (No. 2,033, verdict of the Dutch Navigation Council, April 11;) now, this kind of torpedo is used only by the German Navy. The German Admiralty then asserts that the torpedo in question was fired on March 6 at an English destroyer, that it missed the ship and traveled to the shore, and that the *Tubantia* there ran into it by accident, (declaration of June 9.) On Sept. 25 the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs announces that he has proposed to submit the examination into the causes of the *Tubantia*'s destruction to an international commission of inquiry, and that the German Government has accepted, with the proviso that the commission shall not act until after the conclusion of peace; Holland has given its assent.

March 18, 1916—The Dutch steamship *Palembang* is sunk in the North Sea; the crew is saved, but nine men are wounded. An investigation made in Holland shows that there were three explosions, the first possibly produced by a mine, the others producible only by torpedoes; at the time of the last explosion the ship was not moving. The torpedo causing the second explosion might have been intended for an English destroyer lying near by, but the last could have been aimed only at the *Palembang*. The German Government affirms, on the contrary, that this vessel was not torpedoed, because, it says, no German warship was near the *Palembang* at the moment of the accident.

March 22 and 23, 1916—The Ambassadors of the allied powers at Washington present a note and memorandum in answer to Mr. Lansing's letter of Jan. 18. They remind the United States that the arming of merchant ships is the exercise of a recognized right, and that this protection against illegal attacks cannot be renounced save upon receipt of guarantees against a renewal of such attacks. As Germany has greatly extended her submarine war methods on lines contrary to international law, the authors of these acts would be encouraged by being left to go unpunished. Mr. Lansing's proposition is therefore rejected.

Torpedoing of the Sussex

March 24, 1916—The French passenger steamer *Sussex*, on its way from Folkestone to Dieppe, is torpedoed without warning. This vessel was not armed, and was not following the route of the military transports. About

eighty passengers, including American citizens, were killed or wounded; a Spanish composer, Granados, is among the victims.

March 29, 1916—The Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs announces that he has received from the German Minister at The Hague the following declaration: "The principles laid down by the Imperial Government in regard to submarine warfare, in the form in which they were communicated to the neutral Governments, have not been modified, except that the instructions concerning armed commercial vessels have been more clearly defined. The German naval forces have the strictest orders to abstain from all attacks upon neutral ships unless they try to flee or resist search."

April 5, 1916—The English steamer *Zent* is torpedoed without warning by a submarine and sinks in a few minutes; 49 victims.

April 6, 1916—The Reichstag passes a resolution offered by its Budget Committee, holding that as the submarine has shown itself to be the most effective weapon against the attempts of England to starve Germany, it is desirable to use the submarine, as well as all other military means, in such a way as to guarantee to Germany her future and a sure peace, and to safeguard Germany's interests on the seas—in her negotiations with foreign States—by the maintenance of the necessary liberty to employ this weapon, while at the same time not losing sight of the legitimate interests of neutral States.

April 7, 1916—The Dutch steamer *Eemdijk*, bound from Baltimore to Rotterdam, and displaying the Dutch flag and other visible signs of its nationality, is struck by a torpedo fired by a German submarine, as shown by an investigation made in England after the vessel has taken refuge there.

The Sussex Negotiations

April 10, 1916—Von Jagow delivers a note to the United States Ambassador at Berlin. A German submarine, he states, did indeed sink a long, black vessel in the English Channel, but according to sketches made by the Captain it could not have been the *Sussex*, but rather a warship or an English mine layer. The *Sussex* probably must have struck a British mine.

April 18, 1916—The Danish press tells of the sufferings endured by the crew of the Danish sailing vessel *Proven*, who spent three days and two nights in open boats after their vessel, which was carrying salt from Portugal to Sweden, had been sunk by a German submarine.

April 18, 1916—Secretary Lansing sends a note in reply to the German note of April 10. After proving that the *Sussex* was sunk without warning by a German torpedo, the note expresses regret at perceiving that the German Government does not understand the gravity of the situation resulting not only from the attack on the *Sussex*, but from the whole German method of submarine warfare, comprising the destruction of merchant ships

without distinction of nationality or destination. It recalls the fact that the United States has protested against submarine warfare as contrary to the principles of humanity recognized by all civilized nations. Germany has promised to respect passenger ships, but the commanders of her submarines have not kept that promise, and the list of Americans who have thus lost their lives has grown longer from month to month, until it now has reached 100. The United States Government has been very patient, but now "it has become painfully evident to it that the position which it took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce is, of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed, and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of non-combatants." The note ends with the statement that if it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare, the American Government will have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.

April 24, 1916—The Dutch steamer *Berkelstroom*, on its way to England, is shelled by a German submarine without warning. The vessel, having stopped, is sunk, though the contraband found on board amounts to only one-third of the cargo, and despite the offer to throw this overboard; to a remark of the Captain on this subject the commander of the submarine replies: "Everything that goes to England is contraband."

May 4, 1916—Von Jagow answers the American note. The *Sussex* affair is reserved for later treatment; if a German submarine sank that ship Germany will assume the consequences. The note protests against the American criticism of submarine warfare. "The German naval forces are under orders to conduct submarine warfare in conformity with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, the sole exception being the conduct of warfare against enemy trade carried on enemy freight ships encountered in the war zone surrounding Great Britain." Errors have occurred; they are inevitable in all wars. The note contends that the German submarine warfare is only a reply to the British violation of international law in condemning millions of women and children to starvation. The German Government announces that the German naval forces have received the following order:

"In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels, recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving

human lives unless the ship attempt to escape or offer resistance."

In consequence of these new orders the German Government "does not doubt that the Government of the United States will now demand and insist that the British Government shall forthwith observe the rules of international law universally recognized before the war," rules which the United States has invoked in its notes to the British Government. "Should steps taken by the Government of the United States not attain the object it desires, to have the laws of humanity followed by all the belligerent nations, the German Government would then be facing a new situation in which it must reserve to itself complete liberty of decision."

May 10, 1916—Secretary Lansing replies to the German note of May 4. This response is very brief. It takes cognizance of the intention to make German naval officers observe the rules of international law. The American Government assumes that, despite certain passages of the German note, Germany does not intend to make the fulfillment of her promises depend upon the negotiations between the United States and any other belligerent Government. The note concludes: "In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative."

June 2, 1916—The Norwegian steamers *Bure* and *Orkedal* are torpedoed without warning by an unknown submarine which is seen by some of the sailors; in the crew of the *Bure* one man is killed and two are wounded.

Submarines in Neutral Ports

June 21, 1916—The German submarine U-35 enters the Spanish port of Carthagena and is there treated as an ordinary warship, its stay being limited to twenty-four hours.

July 9, 1916—The German commercial submarine *Deutschland* enters the American port of Norfolk and proceeds to Baltimore. It is considered a merchant ship and treated as such.

July 10, 1916—The Dutch sloop *Geertruida*, though displaying its flag and other marks of its nationality, (the national colors painted on its sides, with the word "Holland" in large letters,) is fired upon without warning by a German submarine; it sinks in three minutes. When the master of the ship expresses his contempt for such methods the commander of the submarine replies: "It's war. Germany will pay well for everything."

July 19, 1916—A Swedish law forbids for-

sign war submarines to enter Swedish waters under peril of being attacked without warning. An exception is made in cases where submarines are forced by stress of weather to put into port.

July 27, 1916—Captain Fryatt is condemned to death by a German court-martial and shot. Commanding an English vessel that was summoned to stop by the German U-53, he had tried to sink the latter by heading his ship toward it at full speed. This had occurred on March 28, 1915.

Aug. 9, 1916—According to press dispatches, the Bundesrat approves the rejection by the Chancellor of the unrestricted submarine warfare urged by the Pan-German radicals.

Aug. 29, 1916—The French boat *François Joseph* is torpedoed in the Mediterranean, fifty miles from the Balearic Islands. The seven men of the crew remain in an open boat through a violent storm until the 31st.

August, 1916—Memorandum from the Entente Allies to the neutral powers contends that the characteristics of submarines are an obstacle to allowing them the ordinary privileges of international law in neutral ports. By their ability to dive they can evade control; it is impossible to identify them, to ascertain their nationality, their character as neutral or belligerent, or as warship or merchant ship; every place at a distance from its base where the submarine can stay and obtain supplies becomes for it a base of naval operations. Consequently the Allies are of the opinion that submarines belonging to belligerents ought not to be admitted to neutral waters and that every belligerent submarine entering a neutral port should be interned.

To this memorandum the Government of the United States replies (Aug. 31) that it is not "at present aware of any circumstances concerning the use of war or merchant submarines which would render the existing rules of international law inapplicable to them," and that in consequence it will reserve its liberty of action. It adds that it is the duty of belligerent powers to distinguish between submarines of neutral and belligerent nationality.

Oct. 7, 1916—The German submarine U-53 arrives at Newport, R. I., and remains there a few hours.

Oct. 8, 1916—German submarines sink five British and neutral vessels in proximity to American waters. Among the latter is the Dutch steamer *Blommersdijk*. The Netherlands Government protests, holding that the cargo was destined for Holland. It receives assurance that "the commanders of submarines have strict orders not to sink neutral ships without fully observing the stipulations of the German code for maritime prizes," and that if these orders have not been executed the German Government will indemnify Holland. (Communiqué of the Netherlands Government, published Oct. 14.)

Oct. 11, 1916—A note from Norway to Germany protests against the fact that Norwegian vessels have been sunk recently without sufficient provision for the safety of the lives of the crews, a course contrary to the law of nations. It holds that the Convention of London does not authorize the destruction of neutral ships except in special cases, and that the German practice is making a rule of the exception.

Oct. 13, 1916—A Norwegian decree forbids naval submarines of the belligerent powers to enter Norwegian waters under pain of being attacked without warning. Exception is made in case of forced refuge. The interdiction does not extend to naval submarines of neutrals, nor to any commercial submarines.

[Remark—The German press, which approved the similar Swedish decree of July 19, freely condemns that of Norway.]

Oct. 14, 1916—Holland replies to the allied memorandum of August. The Netherlands Government declares that when it forbade all warships to enter its territorial waters, war submarines were included in that interdiction; as for commercial submarines entering Dutch ports, no rule of international law authorizes their internment.

Oct. 18, 1916—A communiqué from the German Legation to the Norwegian press gives an answer to the note of the 11th. It assures Norway that the German naval forces destroy neutral vessels only when they cannot do otherwise. It adds that in such cases the German commanders take the greatest care to bring the Norwegian vessels as near to the shore as possible.

Oct. 20, 1916—A German note to Norway places on record certain reservations which the Imperial Government makes in regard to the Norwegian decree of Oct. 13.

Statistical Data

March 30, 1916—Mr. Nelson communicates to the United States Senate a list of 136 Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, and Dutch ships sunk by submarines.

April 18, 1916—Mr. Runciman informs the House of Commons that from Aug. 4, 1914, to April 15, 1916, 3,117 persons (1,754 sailors, 188 fishermen, and 1,175 passengers) lost their lives on British ships by acts of the enemy.

May 11, 1916—The British Government communicates to the House of Commons a list of 37 English and 22 neutral vessels that were torpedoed without warning from May 7, 1915, to May 10, 1916.

Oct. 10, 1916—Norway has lost to date 171 vessels, totaling 235,000 tonnage; 140 Norwegian sailors have perished.

Nov. 18, 1916—The Paris edition of *The London Daily Mail* cites a response of Lord Grey to the effect that from June 1 to Sept. 30, 1916, German submarines have sunk, not counting warships, 714 British vessels, 314 vessels belonging to England's allies, and 281 neutral merchantmen, of which 160 were Norwegian.

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[GERMAN VIEW]

Military Operations of the Month

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

ACCURATE judgment of the present war situation from the military standpoint and a discussion of the whole development of the politico-military conditions during the period ending about the middle of February must be based upon consideration of the grand offensives predicted for the approaching Spring which are expected to decide the conflict.

Even the outstanding military event of the past month, the declaration by Germany of unrestricted U-boat warfare, which led to the rupture of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, and which at the present moment threatens to develop into armed conflict between the two nations, must be divested of its political garb and viewed from the standpoint of its effect upon the shaping of the war situation.

The cause and the purpose of unrestricted warfare in the barred zone around the British Isles and in the Mediterranean was fully explained by the German Chancellor in his speech at the session of the Main Committee of the Reichstag on Jan. 31, published elsewhere in these pages.

The German U-boat "blockade" has a dual purpose. England is to be forced by lack of supplies to consider peace, and the forthcoming allied offensive in the west is to be hampered, and, if possible, frustrated by the blocking of the sources of supply. The Allies are to be incapacitated to draw upon new men, new munitions, and new supplies at a time when they will most sorely need them.

The situation on the principal fighting fronts has again degenerated to trench activity, but considerable mobility marks the areas behind the fronts. Each nation is sharpening its weapons for the Spring campaign. These preparations

cannot be overshadowed even by the U-boat war. Just as storming attacks are prepared by artillery, so the operations of the submarines are to be valued merely as preliminary actions.

The lull on the various battle fronts has been dictated chiefly by the adverse weather conditions of the season. All the livelier is the activity behind the fronts. Everywhere there is ceaseless hustle and bustle. Every factory, every munitions plant, every arsenal, and every shipyard is working at full blast. Preparations are made for the grave hour of the decision which Spring is expected to bring.

Field Marshal von Hindenburg in reporting to Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg shortly before the declaration of unrestricted U-boat warfare, stated that all fronts are firmly intact and that all necessary reserves are at hand.

The Month's Military Activities

A detailed review of the operations of the month past follows:

1. **WEST FRONT**—After a period of comparative calm marked by artillery duels, reconnoitring "feelers" along the German front as far as the Swiss mountains, and minor scout actions, the British are of late displaying a lively activity along the Ancre-Somme front. This British front now extends as far as the area south of the Somme where the British have taken over the positions formerly held by the French. General Sir Douglas Haig is making strenuous efforts to "build up" his lines in this area. He was partly successful in this during the last few days in the northern sector, on both banks of the Ancre and in the direction of Bapaume. The Germans have evacuated Grandcourt, thus enabling the British to straighten out their northern front line, which had been



●●●● German Lines in Moldavia, Feb. 20, 1917.

SCENE OF LATEST ACTIVITIES ON THE RUMANIAN FRONT

hitherto a source of danger because of its salient form.

This front lies directly west of Bapaume, the immediate object of the last grand offensive of the joint French and British forces. It may be safely assumed that it is against this sector that a new allied offensive will be directed. But in the meantime military conditions have changed. The value of the possession of Bapaume has been decreased in proportion to the new defense fronts established during the last few months by the Germans behind the Bapaume-Péronne highway. Today it is known that the German high command was seriously considering the abandonment of Péronne during the Entente offensive on the Somme; that the French, who advanced to the very gates of this stronghold, failed to occupy it, is cause for much astonishment. Thus, the evacuation of Bapaume would scarcely form an important military event as the situation stands today. The entire terrain

in front of the city has been literally battered to pieces, while the newly established lines in the rear have been strongly fortified for an efficacious defense. Through the evacuation of Grandcourt and Serre the Germans have now gained closer coherence with their new lines.

Only the future developments of the situation can show whether the six sharp attacks launched in quick succession by the British on Feb. 1 were the beginning of a new offensive. It would seem that weather conditions at present would scarcely permit this, but the lively activity which is marking the situation on the entire west front indicates that the phase of preparation is approaching its end.

At Verdun the army of the German Crown Prince made an important advance on the west bank of the Meuse, storming French trenches east of Hill 304 on a front of 1,600 meters. Simultaneous attacks on Dead Man's Hill and

to the northeast of Avocourt brought the desired success.

Offensive actions also took place on the Woivre plain. These, however, assumed no important proportions, though it should be recalled here that a prominent French military expert long ago made the prediction that upon this plain the fate of Verdun would one day be decided.

At the moment of writing comes official news from Berlin of a substantial success achieved by the Crown Prince's right wing in the Champagne, where his storming columns smashed through four lines of strongly defended French positions on Hill 185 and the Maison de Champagne, south of Ripont. More than 800 prisoners were taken, including 28 officers. This unusual ratio between officers and men captured indicates heavy losses on the part of the defenders, as does the large booty reported by the Berlin War Office. Curiously enough, this action has been thus far completely ignored by the French official communiqués. The assumption is justified that no reference to it will be made until the French have succeeded in regaining at least part of the ground lost.

This German success in the Champagne is the most important infantry action reported this year from the west front. Any further successes in this region will necessarily influence the situation at Verdun, since the scene of this latest German offensive movement is only some nine miles from the Paris-Verdun railway. Astonishingly little attention has been paid by allied and neutral military observers to the obvious connection between the Champagne and Verdun positions. Penetration on a large scale of the French Champagne lines and subsequent cutting of the Paris-Verdun railway east of Rheims would mean the isolation of France's Verdun army and of the whole southern chain of French fortresses. For this reason the situation in the Champagne bears particularly attentive watching.

The Situation of Russia

2. RUSSIAN FRONT—The Russian offensive on the Riga front after small successes won in the initial onrush has

been stifled in blood and mud amid the frozen swamps of the Aa River. The Muscovite attacks were directed chiefly against the Village of Kalnzem, which is nearest the important German base at Mitau, and, incidentally, nearest to the East Prussian frontier. On Jan. 23 the German counterthrusts set in. They resulted in the expulsion of the enemy from the greater part of the river terrain. All subsequent Russian attempts to regain the lost ground failed under the heaviest losses, according to Berlin. The bitterness of the battles in this region may be seen in the fact that it is impossible in the ice-covered swamp region to dig new trenches, so that the fighting takes place virtually without cover.

Bloody battles are still under way on the Dwina front, midway between Dwinsk and the Narotch Lake, near Driswiaty Lake, as well as north of Kisilim, in Volhynia, and on the Halicz-Stanislau sector, in East Galicia. On these fronts the Teutonic forces have undertaken a series of strong advances which were met by stubborn resistance on the part of the Russians.

Once more the adequacy of the military strength and the resources of Russia have taken the foreground in the discussion of the future conduct of the Entente war, the subject being revived by the mission of General Castelnau, who recently arrived in Petrograd. The assertion has been frequently made of late that the Central Powers with their proclamation of an independent kingdom of Poland "spoiled Russia's peace soup."

In judging the present war situation the question of Russia's preparedness for a continuation of the struggle and her necessity for peace must be considered. Russia's necessity for peace is determined by her dependency upon her allies for munitions and money.

Armed conflict between the United States and Germany would primarily benefit Russia, for all the U-boats of the Central Powers would be unable to prevent wholesale shipments of munitions from America to Russia.

The lively aerial activity along the whole Russian front proves that there, too, preparations for a Spring campaign are under way.

Balkan and Italian Fronts

3. RUMANIAN CAMPAIGN—King Frost is holding back the armies of the Central Powers, having made impossible a continuation of their victorious advance after the Sereth River was reached. During the final stages of mobile warfare on that front Russian resistance had become considerably stiffened, particularly in the battle for Galatz.

In the region of the "three countries' corner," in the northern sector of the wooded Carpathian front, the troops of the Central Powers have lately made a series of successful advances. The battles in the Meste-Canesti sector, on the Jacobeny-Kimpolung railway, may signify the beginning of a renewed offensive in the Rumanian campaign. At present that front runs as follows: West of Polgyes Pass and Gyimes Pass, east of the wooded Carpathians, as far as the region west of Tergu Okna, along the railway running north from Focsani, east of Oitutz Pass to the Putna west of Panciu, then along the Putna to east of Focsani, to the bridgehead Fundeni, Nemoloasa, to the Sereth, along that river as far as Braila, and further across the Danube into the Dobrudja. This line is held by the following armies of the Central Powers: (1) Army of General von Gerok, (right wing of army group Kovess.) (2) Army group Arz von Straussenburg. (3) Army of General Krafft von Delmensingen. (4) Army of General von Morgen, (Falkenhayn's Ninth Army.) (5) Army Koch, (Danube Army.) (6) Army Nez-erow, (Dobrudja Army.)

4. ITALIAN FRONT—The Isonzo front is no exception to the sudden flare-up of preparatory activity which is marking all other chief battle lines. Austro-Hungarian troops have attacked the Italian on the Carso Plateau, on the heights to the east and southeast of Goritzia, thus taking the initiative in a re-opening of mobile operations. Fighting also has been resumed around Tolmein. Even Italian military experts had predicted that after the conclusion of the Rumanian campaign the forces released on the German side would be sent against Italy.

5. MACEDONIAN FRONT—At the great war council of the Allies in Rome at the beginning of the year, which was attended by Lloyd George and Briand, Italy's backbone was to be stiffened. Particularly, she was to be induced to participate in the fighting in Macedonia. Military necessity had made it imperative for the Entente to render the Greek Army armless, thus removing the menace of a possible enemy in the rear of the Saloniki expedition. Italy has from the outset disapproved of the Entente's policy toward Greece. Rome never trusted the ambitions and aims of Venizelos, and Italy as far as she could stood off from the military events in Macedonia. Since the Rome war council Italian forces have appeared in greater strength on the Macedonian theatre, without, however, relieving the stagnation of the military situation on that front. Here, too, renewed mobility of action has been begun by the Central Powers. The storming of a height to the east of Paralovo defended by Italian troops signifies no exciting military event in itself. However, it gains interesting color by the fact that the attackers were Germans. It had been a long time since German participation in operations on the Macedonian front had been heard of.

6. TIGRIS FRONT—Of the extra European theatres of war the Mesopotamian front has again come into the forefront of war news of late. The British expeditionary army has resumed its advance against Kut-el-Amara, on the road to Bagdad. As far as the military situation in this region can be judged at this time, it appears that the Turks have been driven off from the southern banks of the Tigris. It is more than probable, however, that only advance positions have been abandoned, since the Turkish main forces are concentrated on the northern banks. But these battles undoubtedly will play an important rôle in connection with the expected decisive combats looked for in the coming Spring, since for England success or failure in Mesopotamia means security or menace to the Persian Gulf.

NEUTRAL DIPLOMATS FACING CRISIS



Nils Claus Ihlen
Foreign Minister of Norway
(Bain News Service.)



C. Th. Zahle
Prime Minister of Denmark
(Bain News Service.)



Knut Hammarskjöld
Prime Minister of Sweden



Jonkheer J. Loudon
Foreign Minister of Holland
(Bain News Service.)

NEW RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER



**N. N. Pokrovsky. Who Succeeds M. Sturmer in the Foreign
Office at Petrograd. His First Notable Utterance
Was Against Germany's Peace Proposals.**

(Photo from Press Illustrating Co.)

[AMERICAN VIEW]

The Month's Strategic Developments

From January 15 to February 15, 1917

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

THE prevalence of extreme Winter temperature on all the battle fronts negatived to a great extent all fighting during the last month. Local actions of an unimportant character have been the only indications of activity. The Russian move against the Riga lines, which was just beginning as last month's review was being written, was followed by a heavy countermove on the part of the Germans. Both the Russian and the German efforts, however, proved abortive and soon died out, leaving the situation exactly as it was at the outset. From Riga to the Rumanian front there has been no change in the general situation.

On Feb. 15 the Germans officially reported taking two important heights in Rumania, but the fact remains that the forces confronting each other on that front are at present without essential advantage to either side. There was for a time some sharp fighting along the southern Sereth, where the Russians had retreated across the river and had taken up a position in front of the fortified post of Galatz. Evidently the Russians had reached the line which was intended by the High Command to be held, for the Germans were able to make no headway.

Checked in the south, they turned their attention to the passage through the mountains at Oituz. This is the most important point on the entire Transylvanian frontier at the present time, as through it alone can the positions along the Trotus River, which positions are a northern extension of the Sereth line, be attacked. The mountains are entirely closed north of the Oituz Pass, and between it and the crossing of the Trotus there is not a single passage. If the way through this pass were cleared, therefore, the Germans would be in an excellent position to carry their lines across the

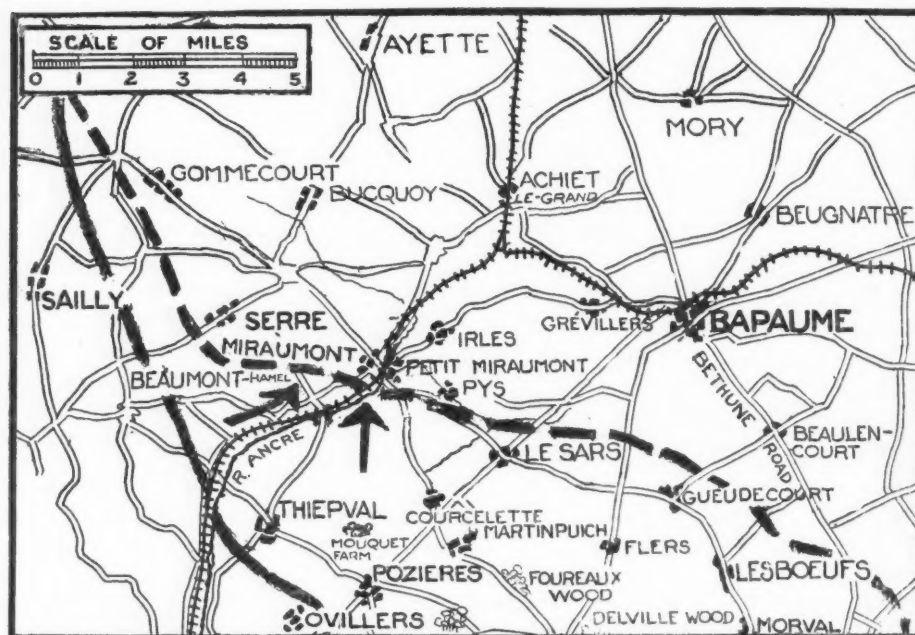
Putna to the Trotus and middle Sereth and force this smaller stream, thus flanking the entire line of defense.

Here also, however, the Germans met with a distinct check. The Russians were assisted at what appeared to be a critical time by heavy snows and extreme cold. These, combined with the natural strength of the Russian defenses, finally caused cessation of fighting, so that the long line from Riga to the Danube settled down to do nothing until the weather became more propitious.

British Fighting on the Ancre

On the western front the British alone have been active. Trench raids have been frequent on all sides, but these are for purposes of reconnoissance and involve little fighting. All the fighting that has been done has been along the Ancre in the Somme district. It has been presumed that the battle of the Somme had ended, the presumption being entirely on the part of the Germans. Arguing from their own experience at Verdun they came to the conclusion that the cessation of the fighting there last November meant an allied defeat and a German victory. The two battles, however, have little in common.

Verdun was lost in April. At least by April it was evident that the Germans had been checked and that whatever they had hoped to accomplish had escaped from them. The battle ceased to be fought in July. From July to the end of October is the best fighting weather of the year. Had the Germans not been defeated, had they not seen the futility of carrying the battle further, and, above all, had they not been furnished with an excellent excuse for crying quits by the combined allied attack, the battle could have gone on without hindrance. But they



ANCRE REGION, SCENE OF RECENT BRITISH ADVANCES IN FRANCE

were defeated, and, seeing the opportunity of stopping the attack because of the worldwide distraction caused by the allied offensive, judged that the chance to withdraw was too good to lose.

The situation at the battle of the Somme is in no way to be compared with this situation. In the first place, the Allies had no one objective. There was no strongly fortified point in their front toward which their military aspirations led them. Bapaume was there, also Péronne, but neither of these is of sufficient importance either from a military or a sentimental viewpoint to be considered the final objective of such a titanic effort. And when the fighting ended it was not because the advance of the Allies was checked. On the contrary, the rate of advance with each successive major attack was greater in the final days of the fighting than it was at the beginning. The question was decided for the time being by weather conditions. The whole front had been turned into a sea by heavy rains. The Ancre, instead of being, as in normal times, a stream scarcely larger than a brook, was a wide river, a no man's land between the rival trenches passable only in boats. There was nothing for the Allies to do but suspend oper-

ations until the ground would permit the passage of infantry and artillery.

During the last month excessive cold prevailed on the Somme front during almost the entire period. The ground was frozen, as was also the stream itself. This afforded the British an opportunity to continue where they left off last Fall.

It will be remembered that the last effort made on the Somme was a British attack along the Ancre, which resulted in an advance on both sides of the stream and the occupation of Beaucourt and Beaumont Hamel. It was in an extension of this section of the front that the British effort was exerted. Taking first a trench on the south bank of the river, then one on the north bank, the British gradually extended their lines until the town of Grandcourt was almost surrounded. The Germans were placed in a desperate position, and, lest their line of retreat be closed altogether and they be forced back against the stream, they evacuated the town without making a fight to defend it.

The British since Grandcourt fell have been conducting the same sort of operation against Serre. There has been no attempt to break the line, no grand effort such as marked the Fall operations

in this region. It has been nothing more than a steady but uninterrupted creep forward, trench by trench, until a favorable moment for a more definite attack occurs. The result is that while the changes in position are too small to appear on any but a large-scale map, the German position is getting more and more difficult to retain.

The line of advance up the Ancre is the most dangerous that the British could adopt. It draws the noose tighter about the Germans in what still remains of the old salient, and if it continues will throw the British so far in the rear of the German positions south of Hebuterne that a retreat will become necessary. In fact, not a great many more blows will have to be delivered before the Germans are pinched out of the entire salient and the line drawn straight from Arras to Peronne.

Germany's Serious Plight

The most important development of the month, however, has been the action of Germany in what in reality amounts to a declaration of war against all neutrals in issuing her submarine notification. What can be the necessity that forced Germany to this step?

In the first place, German efficiency as exemplified in this war has been misunderstood and in a way misnamed. It was not so much efficiency as preparedness, made with an understanding more acute perhaps than that of the Entente Powers of what the war would mean. But the degree of preparedness which the Germans had reached has now been exceeded by the Allies. In trained and well drilled men they are greatly superior. In guns and shell production they also have the decided advantage.

England today is manufacturing more shells than she and her allies can use. The importance of shells may be readily seen when the various steps in a battle are understood. The first step is the heavy gunfire with high explosive shells. The function of this is to destroy the wire entanglements and demolish the trenches. It does not, however, as a general thing reach the dugouts where

the German machine guns are located. As soon as the heavy guns have done their work, the barrage fire is started, usually with shrapnel, the object being the old trenches and the purpose to keep the German gunners in their dugouts until the infantry is upon them. This barrage, or curtain of fire, is kept up until the infantry is not more than twenty-five or fifty yards from the trench, when it is lifted and the infantry go down into the dugouts, hoping to cover the distance before the machine guns can come into play.

While this is going on, the air scouts are busy trying to locate the enemy's artillery. If this cannot be done the chances of winning are much reduced. But, given superiority in shell and ascendancy in the air, the end is inescapable. Not only are the Allies superior in shell, but they also control the air. There are actually more men in the British Royal Flying Corps today than there were men in the regular British Army when the war broke out. With these advantages the Germans will have a hard time this Spring in keeping the Allies from shattering their lines and driving them out of France.

But this is only a part. The German people are running very short of other things. Whether it is of food or not, no one knows. It would seem that, in spite of the blockade, it is impossible to force Germany into defeat by hunger. But to starve it in other things besides food is entirely another thing. War demands certain raw materials which Germany does not possess within her own confines nor those of her allies. These can be obtained only through importation, and Germany cannot import. The amount she can get from Holland, Denmark, and Sweden is negligible. Among these supplies that are lacking are cotton for use in the manufacture of high explosives; copper for use in shell manufacture, wool for clothing her soldiers; rubber and fats. All these things Germany must bring into the country, and if her supply is nearing exhaustion, her plight is desperate. But desperation does not pardon her form of lawlessness.

A BRITISH REVIEW

Major Gen. F. B. Maurice of the British War Office stated on Feb. 15 that since the beginning of the new year the trench raids which the British forces have been carrying on have netted a gain in ground to an average depth of three-quarters of a mile over a front of 10,000 yards and the capture of 2,000 Germans, and also have greatly encouraged the British troops. On the debit side of the ledger, General Maurice said, the total losses of the British have not been as

great as the number of German prisoners. He added the following:

"We are now capturing Germans of all ages, including both ends of the age limits, from 17 to 60 now being forced into the German Army. While it would not be safe to say that deterioration of the German Army has become general, it can be said that the prisoners show marked evidence of such decline, and the fact that they have abandoned villages without attempting to defend them confirms this impression."

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From January 12, Up to and Including
February 18, 1917

GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

On Jan. 31—The United States Government received from Germany a note and memorandum in which she replied to President Wilson's address before the United States Senate on peace, denounced the Allies for their rejection of her peace overtures and for alleged violations of international law and announced that beginning Feb. 1 German submarines would sink without warning any merchant vessel entering a prescribed zone around the coasts of the allied countries, thus repudiating the pledges she had made in her note of May 4, 1916, in reply to a note from the United States on the Sussex case. Under certain conditions one American vessel was to be allowed to pass through the safety zone to and from Falmouth each week. Two days later the German Ambassador was authorized to extend this offer to include any American ship.

On Feb. 3—The United States severed diplomatic relations with Germany. Count von Bernstorff received his passports, Ambassador Gerard was recalled and President Wilson laid the situation before Congress and notified neutrals of the break, expressing the hope that they would find it possible to take similar action. American interests in Germany were put into the hands of the Spanish Minister and German interests in the United States were put into the hands of the Swiss Minister. Steps were taken immediately to protect the country against spies and conspirators, defense measures were rushed in Congress, railroads were prepared for emergencies and plans were

made for the mobilization of the country's industries.

On the same day, the Housatonic, an American ship, was sunk by a German submarine off the Scilly Islands. She received full warning, however, and her entire crew was saved.

The American Government demanded the immediate release of the 72 American citizens held as prisoners of war in Germany after being brought to a German port on the Yarrowdale as captives from the crews of merchant ships sunk by a German raider. The German Government announced on Feb. 4 that these men would be released, but as she did not act on her promise Secretary Lansing, acting through the Swiss Minister, made a second demand that they be freed. On Feb. 15 a message from Berlin stated they had been released.

On Feb. 5—The British S. S. Evestone was sunk without warning and an American negro seaman was killed as the boats which left the sinking vessel were shelled.

Official information was received from the American Minister at Copenhagen that Ambassador Gerard and all Americans, including consular officials, were being detained in Germany pending assurance of fair treatment of Ambassador Bernstorff and the crews of interned German ships. The German Foreign Office asked Ambassador Gerard to reaffirm the treaties of 1799 and 1828, but he refused to act and referred the German officials to Spanish and Swiss intermediaries. It is believed that Germany was influenced by alarmist dispatches concerning the treatment of

German subjects and property in the United States.

On Feb. 10—The Swedish Minister conveyed to the State Department an informal offer from Germany to revive negotiations for the safety of Americans at sea. At the request of Secretary Lansing the suggestion was put in writing. The State Department sent a reply to the Swiss Minister announcing that no discussion was possible until submarine warfare against neutrals was abandoned. Germany later repudiated this offer to negotiate.

Ambassador Gerard left Berlin in safety with his party on Feb. 10 and on Feb. 17 word was received that all American consular officials would be allowed to leave Germany.

The American sailing schooner Lyman M. Law was destroyed off the coast of Sardinia by a submarine, but whether by an Austrian or German boat has not been ascertained.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Between Jan. 13 and Jan. 31 twenty-four merchant ships were sunk in the war zone.

On Jan. 31 the German Government announced to neutral nations that beginning Feb. 1 German submarines would sink without warning any merchant vessel entering a prescribed zone extending from north of the British Isles around into the Mediterranean Sea. A prohibited zone was established for hospital ships on the ground of their alleged misuse by the Allies. Austria-Hungary issued a similar note. As a concession to Holland, the safety zone was later extended off the coast of the Netherlands.

Spain, Brazil, Argentina, Cuba, and Switzerland sent notes of protest and the Chinese Government indorsed the action of the United States in breaking off diplomatic relations.

From Feb. 1 to Feb. 18, 121 vessels of 245,437 tons were sunk in the danger zone. These included the S. S. California on which forty-one lives were lost, the Afric, two Belgian relief ships, the Euphrates, and the Lars Kruse, and two American vessels, the steamship Housatonic and the schooner Lyman M. Law.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Jan. 13—Germans on the Riga front attack Russian lines east of Kalnzem south of Lake Babit.

Jan. 23—German attacks in the Riga region north of Lake Kuggerion repulsed.

Jan. 25-Feb. 4—Indecisive battles on the Kalnzem-Chlok line.

Feb. 7—Russians repulse Teutons on the Beresina River.

Feb. 8—Russians attack Teuton positions near Kirlibaba and capture first-line trench.

Feb. 9—Teutons shell Stanislaw.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Jan. 12—Teutons capture the town of Labur-

tea in Rumania; Russians driven back toward the Sereth between Braila and Galatz.

Jan. 13—Bulgarian troops capture a monastery at the junction of the Buzeu and Sereth rivers; Rumanians throw Teutons back on the River Kasino and occupy their trenches.

Jan. 14—Teutonic forces capture the town of Vadani, six miles southwest of Galatz.

Jan. 15—Bulgarian artillery shells the town of Galatz from the Dobrudja bank of the Danube; Russians repulse Teuton attacks north of Focsani; fighting renewed on the Macedonian front; Vardar bombarded.

Jan. 17—Russians retake Vadani; Rumanians in the Trotus-Kasino region throw attacking Teuton forces back in disorder.

Jan. 19—Teutons bombard Ocna in Moldavia; Russian attacks north of the Suchitza Valley repulsed.

Jan. 20—Germans take Nanesti on the Sereth River.

Jan. 21—Russians retire across the Sereth River.

Jan. 22—Russians repulsed in attack on German advance lines in the Putna Valley.

Jan. 23—Teutons resume their advance in Dobrudja; Bulgarian forces cross the southern estuary of the Danube near Tultcha.

Jan. 27—Rumanians in Moldavia drive Teutons south of the Kasino and Suchitza Valleys.

Jan. 28—Russians assume the offensive against Austro-German fortified positions on both sides of the Kimpolung-Jacoben road and break through the Teuton lines along a front of nearly two miles.

Jan. 31—Russians capture Austro-German fortifications east of Jacobeni.

Feb. 8—French occupy Ojani in Macedonia and reach Vestini.

Feb. 13—Teutonic troops take the offensive in the Cerna bend and take an Italian position east of Paralovo.

Feb. 14—Germans recapture two heights east of Jacobeni; Italians recapture greater part of trenches occupied by Germans at Hill 1,050, east of Paralovo.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Jan. 12—British make slight gains north of Beaumont.

Jan. 14—Germans repulsed by British near Guidecourt.

Jan. 15—British raid German lines east of Loos.

Jan. 17—British forces on the Ancre launch successful attack north of Beaucourt.

Jan. 22—Germans repulsed in two attacks on the right bank of the Meuse.

Jan. 23—British make successful raid northeast of Neuville-St. Vaast.

Jan. 26—French, in strong counterattack, drive Germans from positions near Hill 304.

Jan. 27—British on the Somme capture commanding position near Le Transloy; new French attack near Hill 304 repulsed.

- Jan. 28—French launch successful attack against German positions between Les Eparges and the Calonne trench.
- Jan. 31—French penetrate the first two lines of German trenches in Lorraine, south of Leintrey.
- Feb. 2—British make successful raid near Guidecourt.
- Feb. 4—British advance 500 yards east of Beaucourt.
- Feb. 5—Germans fail in four counterattacks against the new British line east of Beaucourt.
- Feb. 7—British force the Germans out of Grandcourt.
- Feb. 8—British drive the Germans from a dominating height near Sailly-Saillisel and advance on both banks of the Ancre; French capture German patrol near Bonzee in the Verdun sector and take some prisoners in a surprise raid on the German trenches in the Argonne.
- Feb. 12—British occupy 600 yards of German trenches north of Beaucourt.
- Feb. 13—British penetrate several hundred yards into Teuton lines east of Souchez.
- Feb. 14—British capture strong point south-east of Grandcourt and penetrate to German third line near Arras.
- Feb. 16—Germans pierce the Champagne line and make gains south of Ripont.
- Feb. 17—British troops on the Ancre capture German positions on a front of about a mile and a half on both sides of the river and carry an important German position north of Baillecourt.
- Feb. 18—British capture slopes dominating the villages of Miraumont and Petit Miraumont.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

- Jan. 19—Austrians bombard Italian lines in the Oppachiasella sector on the Carso front.
- Jan. 24—Italians repulse Austrian ski attacks in the Tenale district.
- Feb. 12—Italians re-establish their lines east of Gorizia and expel Austrians from captured trenches.

ASIA MINOR

- Jan. 15—British take a town on the Shatt-el-Hai River south of Kut-el-Amara.
- Jan. 23—British force Turks to evacuate a position east of Kut-el-Amara.
- Jan. 26—British consolidate gain of 1,000 yards of Turkish first-line trenches southwest of Kut-el-Amara and positions of Turkish second-line trenches in Mesopotamia.
- Jan. 29—British take two and a half miles of Turkish trenches southwest of Kut-el-Amara.
- Feb. 1—Turks advance in Persia; occupy Dizabad and approach Sultanabad.
- Feb. 3—British advance east and west of Tigris-Hai junction.
- Feb. 13—British establish a line across the

Tigris bend west of Kut-el-Amara, completely hemming in the Turks.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

- Jan. 26—Germans retire in the direction of Utete and Utembe Lake.

AERIAL RECORD

- Italian and French aviators raided Austrian seaplane bases at Trieste and the arsenal and harbor at Pola.
- Turkish munitions factories at Bagdad were bombarded by the British.
- On the western front French aviators dropped bombs on the military works at Lahr in Baden and on the railway station and barracks at Karlsruhe, and British airmen bombarded Bruges and Ghiselles. The Germans raided Amiens and Dunkirk.

NAVAL RECORD

- A Russian squadron, in a raid off the Anatolian coast on Jan. 13, sank forty Turkish food ships.
- Two Austrian submarines, the VC-12 and the VT-12, were captured by the Italians.
- A German raider operating in the South Atlantic sank or captured twenty-five allied merchant ships. The Yarrowdale, which she armed, was taken into a German port with neutral sailors from the lost vessels on board. These men were detained in Germany as prisoners of war, a step which led to an issue with the United States Government.
- On the night of Jan. 22-23 two battles were fought in the North Sea. In one a British torpedo boat was reported sunk. In the other a German destroyer was reported sunk and other torpedo craft scattered. The Germans, however, denied the loss of a ship.
- The British auxiliary cruiser *Laurentic* was sunk by a mine off the coast of Ireland, Jan. 25.
- On Jan. 27 the British Admiralty issued a statement declaring an enlarged area of the North Sea dangerous to shipping on account of belligerent operations.
- A British cruiser gave battle to three German raiders off the coast of Brazil on Feb. 15. One raider was reported damaged, one probably beached, and the third escaped.

MISCELLANEOUS

- Greece has accepted in their entirety the demands of the Allies.
- Great Britain, in a note sent to the United States Jan. 13 supplementing the reply of the Entente to President Wilson's peace note, named the bases for a durable peace.
- On Jan. 22 President Wilson, in an address before the United States Senate, laid down the principles which he thought should guide the United States in its participation in a peace league.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

DISMISSAL OF THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR

AT four in the afternoon of St. Valentine's day, Feb. 14, 1917, the Scandinavian-American liner Frederik VIII. sailed from New York for Copenhagen, carrying Count Johann H. von Bernstorff and some 200 German diplomatic and consular agents. The departure of Count Bernstorff is a far more serious matter than was the earlier going of Dr. Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador. The charges made against the latter referred to him personally; he had ceased to be, in diplomatic language, *persona grata* to the Government of the United States. His departure made no breach between the United States and Austria-Hungary; his work at Washington was immediately put into the hands of Baron Zwiedinek, and Count Tarnowski von Tarnow was, in course of time, appointed as his successor and accepted by the Government of the United States, though conditions which have arisen since that acceptance have, so far, prevented the presentation of his credentials from the Emperor Charles.

But the departure of Count Bernstorff is a censure not of the person of the Ambassador, but of his Government; no *Chargé d'Affaires* takes his place. The German Embassy is closed. The cessation of direct relations is complete, though indirect relations are still possible through Dr. Ritter, the diplomatic representative of Switzerland. Yet, within the last two years, there has been sharp criticism of Count Bernstorff's personal methods. His official warning concerning the *Lusitania* might easily have caused a breach. The activities of the German military and naval attachés, who are technically independent of the embassy, since they report to the German War Office and Admiralty, not to the Foreign Minister, led to their own dismissal, and might easily have involved Count Bernstorff also. But the strongest feeling was, perhaps, aroused by the fact that he was able instantly to stop all outrages against munition plants.

On Feb. 17 Captain Polack of the Ger-

man steamship *Kronprinzessin Cecilie* testified in a Federal Court hearing for the sale of the vessel that the day the new German submarine order was promulgated and three days before the severance of relations he had been ordered by an official of the German Embassy to disable the steamship so that the United States Government could make no use of it in the event of hostilities. This is strong evidence that the German Ambassador expected the break and was not loath to impugn the fairness of our Government if war should ensue.

* * *

CANNONS ON LINERS

THE question whether liners and merchant ships should carry guns for defense against unlawful attacks seems to have entered its modern phase when, on March 27, 1913, a year and four months before the beginning of the world war, Winston Churchill made a speech in the House of Commons upon the navy estimates, in which he announced that the British Admiralty proposed to encourage ship owners in the British Isles to provide for the defense of their vessels in time of war by lending them guns, furnishing them with ammunition and training crews for them, provided that the ship owners would pay for the necessary structural alterations in their ships. Winston Churchill's idea, which had the support of Mr. Asquith's Cabinet, was not, apparently, to arm merchant ships for aggressive action in time of war, but rather to enable the larger merchantmen to protect themselves against attacks by warships, whether surface craft or submarines. A very clear distinction must be drawn between purely defensive action of this kind and the creation of a volunteer fleet like that, for example, of Russia, where merchant ships are built with the intention of turning them into auxiliary cruisers in time of war, as was done with vessels of the American Line in the war between the United States and Spain, in 1898. Merchant ships commissioned as auxiliary

warships lose their immunities; but it is held by most maritime powers, including England and the United States, that this is not the case with liners and other ships armed solely for defensive purposes. The question what exactly constitutes defensive action has not, however, been definitely settled.

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THE LEAK INVESTIGATION

WHEN CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE went to press in February the Congressional investigation was in progress to ascertain whether any Government officials had given advance information to stock operators of the proposed peace proposals of President Wilson, the announcement of which caused a violent break in the stock markets. A number of hearings were held and much testimony adduced, but nothing at all was revealed to confirm the gossip spread by Thomas Lawson and others which reflected on high Government officials. The only fact adduced was that two newspaper correspondents at Washington, who had learned from other journalists that President Wilson intended to present a peace proposal, broke faith and communicated the fact to certain brokers who took advantage of the news to notify their customers, but there was nothing shown to indicate that any public official profited in any way thereby.

* * *

PARALLEL OF 1917 AND 1812

PRESIDENT JAMES MADISON on June 1, 1812, sent a special message to Congress which is of peculiar interest now because of its startling applicability to the situation between the United States and Germany when President Wilson dismissed the German Ambassador. In his message President Madison said:

Under pretended blockades, without the presence of an adequate force and sometimes without the practicability of applying one, our commerce has been plundered in every sea, the great staples of our country have been cut off from their legitimate markets, and a destructive blow aimed at our agricultural and maritime interests. * * *

It might at least have been expected that an enlightened nation, if less urged by moral obligations or invited by friendly dispositions on the part of the United States, would have found its true interest alone a sufficient

motive to respect their rights and their tranquillity on the high seas. * * *

Other counsels have prevailed. Our moderation and conciliation have had no other effect than to encourage perseverance and to enlarge pretensions. We behold our seafaring citizens still the daily victims of lawless violence, committed on the great common and high way of nations, even within sight of the country which owes them protection. We behold our vessels, freighted with the products of our soil and industry, or returning with the honest proceeds of them, wrested from their lawful destinations * * * whilst arguments are employed in support of these aggressions which have no foundation but in a principle equally supporting a claim to regulate our external commerce in all cases whatsoever.

In summing up "these progressive usurpations and these accumulating wrongs," he said:

We behold, in fine, on the side of Great Britain, a state of war against the United States, and on the side of the United States a state of peace toward Great Britain.

On June 18, 1812, Congress declared war against Great Britain.

* * *

AMERICAN TROOPS EVACUATE MEXICO

GENERAL PERSHING and his 12,000 American regulars withdrew from Mexican territory in February after a stay of eleven months. The raid by Villa and his followers on Columbus, N. M., occurred March 9, 1916; American troops crossed the border in pursuit—over the protest of Carranza, the de facto President—on March 15, 1916. The expeditionary column was in command of General Pershing and pursued Villa's fleeing forces far into Mexico, making final camp near Parral, 300 miles south of the border. The announcement of the order for withdrawal was made public Jan. 28, 1917, and the final evacuation occurred on Feb. 5.

The withdrawal was made without any agreement with the Carranza de facto Government. On Jan. 30 the United States decided to grant Carranza full recognition and Ambassador Henry P. Fletcher was ordered to Mexico City at once; when his credentials are presented complete diplomatic intercourse between the two Governments, which was severed in 1914, will be restored. Ignacio Bonillas, Secretary of Communications in the Mexican Government, has been appointed

Mexican Ambassador to the United States in succession to the former Ambassador-designate, Eliseo Arredondo; Senora Bonillas is an American, the sister of former Governor Safford of Arizona.

A protocol was agreed upon at Atlantic City by the American-Mexican Joint Commission on Nov. 24, 1916, after several months of deliberation, but was rejected by General Carranza, leaving the border question still unsettled. Some irritation was caused on Feb. 12 by General Carranza's action in sending an identic note to all the neutrals on both American continents calling upon them to cease the shipment of munitions and contraband to the European belligerents—as an effective measure to bring about peace. It was thought at first that this was instigated by German intrigue to embarrass the United States, but it is now ascribed to a desire on Carranza's part to make himself conspicuous. The suggestion has not been seriously considered anywhere.

Mexican bandits resumed outlawry on the border on Feb. 16, and three Americans were murdered. The United States border cavalry patrol was ordered to prepare again to cross the lines to capture the murderers unless the Mexican authorities took effective measures to do so.

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REVOLT IN CUBA

A SPORADIC revolt broke out in Cuba during the first ten days of February, a sequel to the inconclusive Presidential election which occurred in November, 1916.

The second balloting to determine the result of the election occurred in Santa Clara Province Feb. 14. Prior to this vote a conspiracy was instigated by certain Liberals, having for its aim the kidnapping or assassination of President Menocal, the Conservative President, who was seeking re-election. The purpose of the Liberals was to place Vice President Varona in the Presidential chair before the second balloting occurred; the Liberal candidate is Alfredo Zayas. There was some fighting at Havana and considerable at Santiago, the capital of Santa Clara Province. It was reported that the

revolutionists had seized that city; a number of Liberal leaders were killed in the conflicts.

The Government of the United States, by the terms of the Platt amendment, has authority to intervene in the affairs of Cuba to preserve order. In accordance therewith the United States Government granted the request of President Menocal to sell Cuba 10,000 rifles and 5,000,000 rounds of ammunition, and on Feb. 14 caused official notice to be posted throughout the disturbed districts that no Government set up by revolution would be recognized by the United States. It was strongly intimated, besides, that the United States would intervene to crush the rebellion if the disorders continued. The effect of this notice was very disquieting to the rebel leaders, and the uprising was thought to be pretty well quelled a few days later. The vote in Santa Clara Province was said to favor the Conservative President, Menocal.

* * *

THE MOST RECENT AIRPLANE ACTIVITIES

A SENTENCE just published in England has a very Olympian ring: "By the Summer (of 1916) we were more supreme aloft than we had ever been, and when the Somme offensive began we were practically able to do as we liked in the clouds." Jupiter could hardly say more. But there seems to be justification for the boast in the reports of air fighting from the lines in France, and especially in the description of what is practically a new method of warfare when, during infantry attacks, the men are in fact led not by their regimental and company commanders, but by an airman, generally a Lieutenant, in a rapid plane 1,000 feet up in the air. A new development of signaling makes this possible; and it is evident that at that height the air guide can easily watch the grouping of the enemy, point out weak and ill-defended trench sections, indicate ambushes, the emplacements of machine guns and the most advantageous line of approach.

All this means victory, but it obviously means extreme risk for the airman at such a low elevation; others, equally

self-devoted, must be ready instantly to take his place if he is brought down by enemy anti-aircraft guns. To meet this allied superiority in the air the Germans have developed new machines. Late last year they brought into action a small, single-seated Halberstadt biplane, with a 220 horse-power Benx engine and a speed of 120 miles an hour, or two miles a minute. This machine had a climbing power of 1,000 feet a minute, or a vertical mile in five minutes.

But even this has just been superseded by the new German Roland biplane, which is peculiar in having the fuselage—the shuttle-shaped body—completely inclosed, so that it looks exactly like a winged submarine. The pilot and gunner are seated within this chrysalis-like shell, the pilot in front, steering through windows cut in the sides, top and floor of the body, while the gunner-observer, also liberally supplied with windows, sits behind.

* * *

SONG BIRDS AND GUN FIRE

AN astounding description of the presence and entire serenity of song birds on the battlefields of Flanders comes from Major Allan Brooks, who was so startled by the anomaly that he lapsed into a striking Hibernicism to express his wonder: "The effect of cannon fire on birds is amazing; almost without exception they absolutely disregard it." Oddly enough, the first birds he mentions are the symbols of peace; wood pigeons and turtle doves are abundant everywhere along the firing line, while thrushes, blackbirds, and larks are fairly common. These blackbirds are in reality thrushes, black velvet in plumage, with orange bills; in early Spring they began to sing in the trees that lined the Yser; on a sudden hundreds of guns of every calibre burst into a terrific and continuous cannonade; when, after three hours, there was a sudden and complete cessation of gunfire, the first thing that the reeling senses realized was that the blackbirds were still serenely fluting away; apparently, they had never ceased. On another occasion Major Brooks was listening to the rich gurglings and chucklings of a nightingale which he had lo-

cated with his glasses, when the morning calm was shattered by a burst of rifle fire close by; the retiring and elusive bird paid no attention, nor did he seek a lower or less conspicuous perch. An unruffled cuckoo called continuously on some nearby willows and crested larks rose one after the other, sometimes from the close vicinity of a bursting shell, singing serenely in the azure, as if there were nothing to mar a perfect day. The only bird perturbed was a green sandpiper that was picking up a precarious living in the stagnant water of the shell craters. When shells burst too close to him he sprang into the air and circled about, but he always returned a minute or two later. From Saloniki comes a charming description of a stork that has made friends with the airplanes and invariably flies forth to greet and accompany them, when they return from a reconnoissance.

* * *

FINANCIAL CONDITIONS IN GERMANY

THE break in diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, with the consequent withdrawal of most of the correspondents of American newspapers from Germany, and the likelihood that for some time information regarding conditions there will be meagre, adds interest to the view of one correspondent, who left Berlin at the same time as the American Ambassador. This correspondent reports that Germany is now living under such abnormal conditions that business in the ordinary sense can hardly be said to exist. Practically all industries are dominated by the war.

The great German iron industry, for example, has become almost a department of the Government. Prices underwent a final sharp advance last Autumn, and were then fixed through an understanding with the Government, which is now almost the sole buyer. Private customers obtain little iron, and exports have been suspended for months. The coal trade is also made subservient to war purposes, so far as is possible, and private consumers are compelled to meet their requirements with minimum quantities, in order that war industries and

railroads may have ample supplies. Schools, theatres, and other public institutions in Berlin are temporarily closed for lack of coal.

Other industries, such as textiles and chemicals, are also largely dominated by the war. Entire branches have been shut down or sharply restricted, because they do not minister to the requirements of the war, but those which supply military needs are working to their utmost capacity. There is great activity in the shipyards, many of which are turning out submarines. The sixth war loan, due in March, has not yet been announced.

* * *

GREECE, ITALY, AND SALONIKI

IT is now clear that one of the main purposes of Entente pressure upon Greece was the wish to secure a land road for a part of the distance between Italian ports like Brindisi and Otranto and the allied lines at Saloniki to escape from the dangers of submarines known to be lurking off the capes of the Morea—the mulberry leaf-shaped peninsula of Southern Greece. And this route became the more important because of the co-operation of Italy, resulting from the recent conference at Rome. The acceptance of this plan has not been pleasant for Greece, since she and Italy are jealous rivals for the possession of Epirus—old Greek territory, but also old Roman territory—which Italy seeks in her plan to make the Adriatic an Italian lake.

On the Saloniki front there has been sharp fighting between the English on the Struma River—the most easterly division of that front—and a mixed force of Bulgarians and Turks, the Bulgarian forces having been badly cut up by the British. There is a certain anomaly in this, since England is the traditional friend of Bulgaria. Gladstone's whirlwind speeches on the Bulgarian atrocities inflicted by the Turks led to the fall of Beaconsfield and his pro-Turkish policy, to which England owes her possession of the Island of Cyprus, offered not long ago to Greece if she would enter the war on the Entente side.

England held Turkey back in 1885, when Eastern Rumelia revolted and was

incorporated in Bulgaria, and there have been many English admirers of Stambuloff, the strongest personality Bulgaria has yet produced; Englishmen who warmly sympathized with Stambuloff's violent anti-Russian policy. Among the Entente Powers, Russia has also been traditionally friendly to Bulgaria, though Stambuloff and King Ferdinand, whom Stambuloff put on the Bulgarian throne, did all in their power to alienate Russia. Yet the old bond between the two countries is clearly shown by the fact that the famous Bulgarian General, Radko Dimitrieff, commands the Russian armies on the Riga sector.

* * *

RUMORS OF THE GRAND DUKE'S RETURN

FROM Russia and Rumania there have been renewed reports that the Grand Duke Nicolai Nicolaievitch has come back from Armenia and the Caucasus, where he added Erzerum and Trebizond to his laurels, and is now in supreme command of the combined Russian and Armenian armies operating in Southern Galicia, the wooded Carpathians, Bukowina, and Moldavia; approximately from opposite Lemberg to the River Sereth. It is said that one reason for his return is the declared unwillingness of King Ferdinand of Rumania to take orders from General Brusiloff, who has held supreme command along this line, on the ground that Ferdinand, being of royal blood, a Hohenzollern of the senior line, cannot take orders from a commander not of royal blood. But since the Grand Duke is a grandson of the Emperor Nicholas I., no such barrier exists with him in command.

A practical compromise would seem to have been reached in this way, which will retain in Brusiloff's hands the actual strategy of the campaign while conserving Rumanian etiquette. A point of great interest in this arrangement is that a very similar situation existed between the father of the Grand Duke and the cousin of King Ferdinand in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877. At first Russia sent an army into Turkey under the command of the elder Nicolai Nicolaievitch, son of the Emperor Nicholas and father of the present Grand Duke; too

small to do the work required of it, this army was held up for months at Plevna. Russia then begged Rumania to enter the war with her compact, effective army, and King Carol of Rumania, cousin of the present King, accepting this proposal, was put in joint command of the combined Russian and Rumanian armies before Plevna, which was soon after captured.

This opened the way across the snow-bound Balkan Mountains to Adrianople and up to the walls of Constantinople, where Russia was checked by Beaconsfield's antagonism, a British fleet practically defending Constantinople. The present situation offers striking contrasts.

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LORD BERESFORD ON SUBMARINES

ADMIRAL BARON BERESFORD, a younger son of the Marquis of Waterford, who was recently raised to the peerage, was long known in the House of Commons, if not as a pessimist, at least as a very sharp critic of the British Admiralty—a keen and well-informed critic, who had made his own mark in naval warfare. Perhaps his elevation has mellowed him, for, speaking in the House of Lords in the middle of February, he was much more optimistic. "We have lost, since the beginning of the war," he said, "4,000,000 tons of shipping. That is a fact which the public should know, but it is not nearly as serious as it appears. We have made up the loss very considerably. Three million tons which have been lost have been more or less adequately filled. There is not the slightest necessity for panic. We have done remarkably well, and shall do a great deal better in future, but we have had time to face it and it is to that time I desire to call attention."

The Earl of Lytton, replying for the Admiralty, said the Government would be glad if it were possible to take the public entirely into its confidence, but that that would involve imparting information to the enemy, and the Admiralty was determined that the Germans should have that information by experience and not through questions in Parliament. Lord Curzon announced that Admiral Jel-

licoe and those who have been with him were "not dissatisfied" with what had been done, even in the preceding fortnight. They were "not dissatisfied" with the number of German submarines that would never return to their home bases.

A tragic incident which befell the crew of the torpedoed *Storskog*, who had been taken on the deck of the submarine which sank their ship, is reported in this connection. Another vessel was sighted. The U-boat promptly submerged and left the crew of the *Storskog* floundering in the water. Only the chief officer and carpenter were able to make their way back to their own boat and were later picked up.

* * *

THE NATIONAL GUARD

IN view of the danger of war the existing status of the State Militia of the United States under present laws is interesting. The total strength of the organized militia of all the States, including both enlisted men and officers, was, as reported by officers making Federal inspections in 1916, January to March, 132,194. The strength of the National Guard in Federal service on Sept. 30, 1916, was 143,704. The official designation of the organized militia in all the States but Massachusetts, Delaware, and Virginia has been the National Guard. Nevada has had no organized militia. The new army law provides that:

The militia of the United States shall consist of all able-bodied male citizens of the United States, and all other able-bodied males who have or shall have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, who shall be more than 18 years of age, and, except as hereinafter provided, not more than 45 years of age, and said militia shall be divided into three classes, the National Guard, the Naval Militia, and the unorganized militia. The National Guard shall consist of the regularly enlisted militia between the ages of 18 and 45, and of commissioned officers between the ages of 21 and 64 years.

The law further provides that the number of enlisted men of the National Guard shall be increased each year in the proportion of not less than 50 per cent., until a total peace strength of not less than 800 enlisted men for each Senator

and Representative in Congress shall have been reached.

Various propositions have been submitted to Congress looking to universal military training for six months to one year of youths between 19 and 24 years of age, but it is not likely that any measure will be enacted until the new Congress convenes after March 4.

* * *

CASUALTIES IN JANUARY

DURING January, 1917, the British casualties were as follows:

	Officers.	Men.
Killed	181	5,014
Died of wounds.....	101	3,635
Wounded	665	24,125
Prisoners	5	408

The casualty figures for the five months ending with January, 1917, were as follows respectively:

	Officers.	Men.
September	5,408	113,780
October	4,366	102,240
November	2,312	72,479
December	953	39,711
January, 1917	963	33,204

Total, five months.....14,002 361,614

The January proportion of deaths to total casualties was slightly over one-fifth; if the same proportion is maintained, the actual deaths in the five months were 86,391.

German official reports show that in January, 1917, exclusive of colonial troops, the casualties totaled 77,534 officers and men—15,906 killed, 11,874 missing, 1,645 prisoners, 48,109 wounded, which brings the grand total as reported by Germany since the war began to 4,087,692 casualties, 988,329 killed or died of wounds and sickness.

* * *

RENEWED FIGHTING IN MESOPOTAMIA

AFTER many months, Kut-el-Amara, the bend of the Tigris, in which General Townshend's mixed British and Indian force was surrounded and compelled to surrender by the Turks, has once again become the scene of vigorous fighting. The cold season, almost prohibitive on the French, Italian, and Russian fronts, is in hot Mesopotamia the great opportunity. On Feb. 13 it was announced that the British forces on the Tigris front had completely surrounded

the Turkish troops west of Kut-el-Amara; after sweeping the Turks back to their last line of trenches in the Dahra bend, west of Kut and between the licorice factory, formerly occupied by General Townshend, and the Shumren bend, the British troops pressed forward for more than a mile across the Dahra bend. By Sunday evening, Feb. 11, the British line had been established across the bend from bank to bank on a frontage of 5,500 yards—three miles—and the Turks were completely hemmed in. The distance covered in the advance varied from 800 yards on the British right to 2,000 yards on the left. It is precisely in a position of this kind that the Turks fight best, as the Russians learned at Plevna in the Autumn of 1877; but unless they are relieved by a strong force within a very short time, it would seem probable that the Turkish Tigris army will soon be compelled to surrender, thus in a sense canceling General Townshend's defeat. The main importance of this movement seems to be to draw Turkish forces away from other points—Armenia, Suez, Dobrudja—and to prevent a Teuton-Turkish movement into Persia.

* * *

NEW BRITISH ELECTION LAWS

THE Electoral Reform Conference of England has presented its recommendations to Parliament and it is believed that these will be enacted into law. Briefly the provisions are as follows: Voters must register every six months, except in Ireland. Every "person of full age" who occupies premises worth as much as \$50 a year rent shall be eligible to vote for Parliament; a person shall not vote in more than one constituency, except that one additional vote is granted in a second constituency as a university voter. The present number of House of Commons members is unchanged, the standard unit being 70,000 population per member.

The conference decided by a majority that some measure of woman suffrage should be conferred. A majority of the conference was also of opinion that if Parliament should decide to accept the principle, the most practical form would

be to confer the vote in the terms of the following resolution:

33. Any woman on the Local Government Register who has attained a specified age, and the wife of any man who is on that Register if she has attained that age, shall be entitled to be registered and to vote as a Parliamentary elector.

Various ages were discussed, of which 30 and 35 received most favor.

The conference further resolved that if Parliament decides to enfranchise women, a woman of the specified age, who is a graduate of any university having Parliamentary representation, shall be entitled to vote as a university elector.

* * *

A CARD FROM THE VENIZELOS DELEGATE TO THE UNITED STATES

New York, Feb. 12, 1917.

Editor Current History Magazine:

I take the liberty to point out a few inaccuracies which I noted in The Editorial Survey of the February number of your excellent and most comprehensive CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

On Page 776 ("The Isles of Greece") it is stated that "Crete has recently declared itself independent of Greece." Heroic Crete has not declared itself independent of Greece, but has adhered among the first to the movement of Venizelos, thus forming a part of the three-quarters of Greece governed by the truly Greek National Government, the Provisional Government of Saloniki.

It is also stated that the Islands of Imbroa and Tenedos, captured by the Greek fleet in the Balkan war of 1912, were returned to Turkey. I beg to state that this is not correct. These islands were not returned to Turkey, although that country demanded them, without, however, being willing to comply with other obligations imposed upon her by the treaties of London and Athens of 1913. Both these islands form now a part of Greece governed by the Provisional Government of Saloniki.

The Islands Mitylene, Chios, and Samos are by no means under Turkish sovereignty.

They were liberated by the Greek fleet in the Balkan war, and have ever since formed a part of Greece. These islands, with many others, including Cerigo, having adhered to the National Government from the beginning of this movement, are also governed by the Provisional Government of Saloniki.

The Island of Rhodes, the population of which is entirely Greek, at all times wishing union with the mother country, is not under Turkish sovereignty. This island was occupied by Italy during the Turko-Italian war.

Trusting that, for the sake of history, you will have the goodness to make an adequate correction of the above in your next number.

P. ARAVANTINOS,

Representing the Greek Provisional Government.

* * *

ARNOLD BENNETT CORRECTED

Editor Current History Magazine:

My attention has been called to an article in the July number of CURRENT HISTORY entitled "The Inside of the Irish Revolt," by Arnold Bennett, in the course of which Mr. Bennett makes the following statement: "Thus the late Sheehy Skeffington, whose pacifism strangely has been accepted as axiomatic by all the British newspapers, speaking at the centenary banquet of the John Mitchell Club, appealed at great length for money to buy arms with which to fight the British Government when the time came."

I had the honor to preside as toastmaster at the centenary banquet of the John Mitchell Club of Chicago, given at the Hotel Sherman, Chicago, on Thursday evening, Dec. 2, 1915, at which Mr. Skeffington was the guest of honor. It was the only appearance Mr. Skeffington made that year before a club of that name. At that dinner Mr. Skeffington made no appeal in any manner or form "for money to buy arms to fight the British Government when the time came."

I respectfully request that you give this communication publicity in the March number of CURRENT HISTORY as a matter of justice to the memory of a man whose nature revolted at the thought of bloodshed in any form or for any cause.

Chicago, Ill.

JOHN A. MCGARRY.





NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS NOW FIGHTING FOR CANADA ON THE FRENCH FRONT

Canada's Work in the World War

By Francis J. Dickie
of London, Ontario

IN its leading editorial on Oct. 10, protesting against the activity of a German submarine and the sinking of the Red Cross liner *Stephano* in American waters, a New York newspaper said in part: "This is American territory—this North American Continent—and, thank God! the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine lives in American hearts. Can any one doubt that the United States would rise in its might to repel a Prussian invasion of Canada?"

That one vainglorious, though doubtless well-intentioned line, "Can any one doubt that the United States would rise in its might to repel a Prussian invasion of Canada?" were it not pathetic, would be humorous; for at the very moment it was written, Canada, through an energy and action almost unbelievable in a country of only 8,075,000 population, had raised

an army of 368,000 men; an army three times that of the United States, a country with thirteen times the population, a country which, though constantly faced for twenty-five months with the danger of having to enter a world war, has remained criminally inactive in the way of even adequately preparing for the always looming possibility of conflict. As it now stands, it is the Dominion of Canada which is on a war basis to come to the defense of the United States, instead of vice versa, as the newspaper editor suggested.

Let us look at Canada's army statistics. To Jan. 15, 1917, 387,508 men had enlisted in her army.

The following table, based on the last Dominion census of 1911, will give an idea of what this number means in proportion to the population:

Province.	No. Men Canadian Born.	No. Men British Born.	No. Men Foreign Born.	No. Men Eligible for Service.	Govt. Ap- portionment of Men from the Various Provinces.	No. Men Enlisted to Jan. 15, 1917.
Prince Edward Island.....	16,592	157	119	16,868 }	63,000	35,158
Nova Scotia	85,900	8,437	4,147	98,494 }		
New Brunswick	64,188	2,371	2,151	68,710 }	139,000	42,152
Quebec	341,783	23,066	26,028	390,897 }		
Ontario	410,896	106,997	64,353	582,246 }	185,000	159,667
Manitoba	149,868	39,806	33,088	122,762 }		
Saskatchewan	61,193	38,871	58,843	158,907 }	60,000	77,775
Alberta	37,446	31,958	53,515	122,915 }		
British Columbia	41,508	54,718	62,046	115,272 }	27,000	38,097
Total	1,209,383	306,381	304,290	1,677,071	500,000	387,508



CANADIAN FIELD KITCHEN, FROM WHICH HOT MEALS ARE SERVED TO SOLDIERS ON THE MARCH

It will be noticed that the Government apportionment of men draws most heavily upon the older provinces, which have the greatest number of towns and cities. While there is no official reason given for this, it is doubtless because Canada is pre-eminently an agricultural country, with the fishing, lumbering, and mining industries close seconds. In the older settlements, with their great cities, existed a male population, most of which could be better spared than the farmers, miners, fishermen, and lumber workers, who existed in the most westerly provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. Yet, sparse as was the population of these latter provinces, it will be noted that they supplied more than their share of men as allotted by the Government—an all-around better per capita enlistment than the older eastern provinces.

In addition to her regular army of the above number, Canada has given 9,782 doctors, nurses, and chemists; has supplied 200 aviators; gave well drillers to aid in the ill-fated Gallipoli expedition; advanced to Russia and operated two giant ice-breaker boats, by which Russia was able to keep open her most important

port of Archangel. Canada to April 1, 1916, had supplied 48,000 horses—8,000 to France, 15,000 to Britain, and 25,000 for her own army use.

Field Kitchens a Success

Canadian manufacturers brought to completion, after years of experience, one of the most important of war weapons—a field kitchen. This traveling cookhouse can feed 500 men an hour. By means of specially fitted compartments—on the thermos bottle system—liquids and solid food can be kept hot or cold for a period of twelve to twenty-four hours. What a boon this is to men upon the battlefield can be easily imagined. The kitchen is also fitted with a small sniping gun for defense, which can be used to good effect. When the first detachment of the Canadian expeditionary force embarked near Halifax on Sept. 26, 1914, it was 33,000 strong. In six short weeks this unprepared and unmilitant country armed, equipped, and mobilized at the seaboard an army of this size. With these regiments went perfect hospital units and half a hundred of the above-mentioned field kitchens, a record in efficient mobilization perhaps never

equaled in the history of the world. Certainly the sailing of these 33,000 men all at one time was a record event, for this was then the greatest armed force that had ever embarked simultaneously in the history of the world.

When the National Guard regiments of the United States were rushed to the Mexican border they carried three Canadian "McClary field kitchens," and so indispensable did they prove that fifteen more are now being built in Canada for American military use. Two hundred are in use by the Canadian Army.

Sources of Canada's Armies

Of the 387,508 men enlisted in the Canadian Army to Jan. 15, 1917, 67,890 were numbered as casualties to Jan. 11. Of these 48,454 were wounded, 10,854 killed in action, 4,010 died of wounds, 1,108 are listed as dead, 2,970 as missing, and 494 as dead of illness. There are still 310,000 effectives. Of this number 258,000 have gone overseas, 100,000 of which are now on the firing line, another 100,000 have received from one to ten months' training in Canada, and will be moved to England and the front during the Winter and Spring.

From the foregoing table it will be seen that out of a total available fighting force of 1,677,071 men, 387,508 have enlisted, or practically a third of the whole.

It will be particularly noticed that from out of the second largest number of available men—a population of 390,000 men in Quebec—only a meagre 42,152 enlisted. This makes the response of the other provinces of a much greater ratio. It must also be taken into consideration that Canada is pre-eminently an agricultural country, with the mining, lumbering, fishing, and fur trading industries next in order. The four occupations first mentioned are particularly necessary in the present crisis, and for their maintenance a very large number of physically fit males are required. While no accurate figures regarding the men engaged in these four occupations have been compiled since 1911, the figures of that year are here given, with an estimate for the present year based upon the increase in population during the last five years, and

the increased transportation and other facilities which have tended to enlarge them during that time:

	Number of Workers	
	in 1911.	in *1916.
Agriculture	933,735	1,942,000
Mining	62,767	240,000
Fishing	34,812	100,000
Lumbering	42,914	100,000
Total	1,074,228	2,382,000

*Approximate.

The estimate for 1916 is very conservative, yet we find that there are some 2,382,000 who ought to be left at home to carry on these most important industries. The total male population between 18 and 45, according to the census of 1911, was 1,723,046. But since that time there has been immigration to the extent of 1,625,952. While nothing exact can be given in the way of figures, owing to the fact that no census has been taken since 1911, a pretty close approximate can be gathered. Allowing 1,000,000 of that immigration to be males, which is about correct, we have 2,700,000 men available for war. Added to this would be easily another million boys who were not taken in 1911, but who have in the past five years reached maturity.

Total of Military Age

Thus on a fair basis of reckoning we had 3,700,000 men of military age in Canada when the war broke out. Of these there were 300,000 of German, Austrian, Turkish, and other enemy nationalities residing in the Dominion, leaving a balance of 3,400,000. The Province of Quebec is 97,000 men short of her allotment to date, leaving 3,303,000 on call. Of this number 2,382,000 were required to carry on the work of agriculture, mining, fishing, and lumbering, as previously shown in the table. From this we have left on call a balance of 921,000, without making any allowance for a certain percentage unfitted through medical reasons. One-tenth is a very low estimate on this score; say the rejections were 100,000 men. (The percentage has been very high, particularly in the latter stages of recruiting.) There are still left 920,000.

However, still to be taken into consid-

eration are railroad operatives and men absolutely necessary to the continuance of business and commercial life in general. Some 250,000 such men are engaged in all lines of railroading, while another 100,000 men is a small number to carry on other forms of industry. In addition, Canada is now operating 422 munition factories requiring a further 40,000 men. So a further total of 390,000 men is absolutely necessary to the welfare of the country. Subtracting this from 920,000, there are still 600,000 men available.

Of this number 387,000 had enlisted up to Jan. 15, 1917. Canada has promised 500,000 men, and there seems no reason to fear that she will not keep her agreement. The total number of recruits for the first half of January, 1917, was 3,536, an improvement of 1,026 over the corresponding period in December. This slight speeding up is attributed to the National Service campaign and the unemployment following the Christmas rush. However, as compared with the January, 1916, total of 29,212, the later one is strikingly small, showing how much the war has affected Canada's willing man power in twelve months' time.

Caring for Soldiers' Families

Canada's army, so far as the rank and file are concerned, is the best paid in the world, while pay for commissioned officers is superior to most of the nations. In addition, the dependents left at home by the fighting men are taken care of in a manner unparalleled in the history of war. To the wife of every private is paid \$20 per month, and \$5 for every child. This money, known as "separation allowance," comes entirely out of the Government's coffers, and runs into several million dollars a month.

In addition, a special fund collected by

public subscription takes care of the wives and children of the most needy privates. This, known as the Patriotic Fund, pays a maximum of \$20 and a minimum of \$5 to soldiers' wives, according to their circumstances. Each child gets \$5 from this fund. To this fund some \$16,000,000 had been subscribed through private sources in the Dominion. The following table gives the whole at a glance, including the pension fund, one of the most equitable in the world. Eight thousand Canadians are now drawing pensions, and before the year is over this will be increased to well over the 10,000 mark. The table is as follows. The principal officers only are taken account of here:

Rank.	Pay Per Day.	Pen- sion.	Wife Allow.	Child Allow.
Private	\$1.10	\$480	\$20	\$5
Sergeant	1.50	680	25	5
Lieutenant	2.60	720	30	5
Captain	3.00	1,000	35	5
Major	5.00	1,260	40	5
Lieut. Colonel...	7.00	1,890	60	5

And now, after two years of war, is the Canadian Army becoming truly Canadian. During the early part of the struggle the preponderance of enlistment in the Dominion was of men from Great Britain, immigrants in the last decade. Since that time, however, a complete change has taken place; and, though no full later compilation has been issued by the military authorities, the nationality statements in various quarters show an enlistment of Canadian-born of from 75 to 90 per cent. of the whole.

Though these men are born of many breeds and their Canadian origin is only of three to five generations, you still see in them—in their features, carriage, customs, and talk—that indefinable but unmistakable something that spells a new race. Seeing a group of these men, you

The following figures of nationalities, churches, lodges, and trade unions are given, though compiled to March, 1916:

NATIONALITY	RELIGIONS	LODGES AND UNIONS
English 103,483	English Church..... 124,688	Masons 18,000
Scotch 36,685	Presbyterian 63,146	Orangemen (Ontario
Irish 14,419	Catholic 32,836	only) 6,742
Welsh 2,050	Methodist 18,418	Trade unions 12,411
Canadian 78,635	Baptist 10,525	
Other nations 27,839	Jewish 343	
	Other denominations.. 13,155	

would instantly say, "Canadian," just as you would remark of other groups, "German, French, English," &c. You would not even mistake them for Americans, the nearest resembling race to them on the face of the earth. To the anthropologist this birth of a new race offers an interesting study; for this new, sturdy race of Canadians, which on so short notice has proved itself a race of wonderful warriors, is born of many sources, and its Canadian birthright is very new.

Canada's Unique Battalions

There seems to be some strange spell about this new land which makes even alien races, whose fatherlands are today opposed to Canada, take up arms in its behalf. This was most fully evinced in the case of the German residents of Eastern Canada. From the County of Waterloo and other districts adjacent to Berlin, Canada, came men of Teutonic origin over a thousand in number to fight under the flag of the Maple Leaf. German is spoken in the ranks of no less than two battalions of the Canadian Army; and hundreds of these men with such names as Schwartz, Ziegler, Reinhardt, Holt, Winkelman, &c., have figured in the Canadian casualty lists to date.

On another side, and as evidence of the ability of the Canadians as colonizers, was the remarkable response of the North American red men to the call to arms. When the war broke out many of the principal chieftians offered men, but the offers were at first refused. Doubtless the Government did not wish to break the then ruling ethics by bringing a colored race into a white man's war. But with the Canadian Government's giving its promise on Jan. 16, 1916, to raise 500,000 men, it became necessary that every available man in the Dominion should be taken into consideration. Scattered on the various reservations from the Atlantic to the Pacific were in the neighborhood of 10,000 Indians of fighting age. To date 2,000 of these have responded, and some have already fallen on the field of battle. Among the most interesting of the many tribal enlistments were fifty Cree Indians from Hudson

Bay territory. They had never seen a train, or even a town larger than of a hundred people, till they were brought out to Sudbury on their way to Camp Borden.

It is only fifty years ago that Canada was looked to by the enslaved colored race as a safety haven. Thousands escaped to the Dominion by underground channels. Some of these became citizens; and today there is a considerable sprinkling of colored people of Canadian origin. The raising of a colored battalion was begun late in August. To date about 700 have joined.

Cutting Down Epping Forest

One of the wholly unique battalions is that composed of Canadian lumbermen, now in England cutting down the famous forests of Epping and Windsor, which had been saved for centuries, until they were almost holy ground. Recently the allied soldiers along the French and Belgian fronts were in pressing need of timber with which to build trenches, bridges, and other things of a military nature. The Allies had been depending upon the Norwegian supply, but this proved insufficient, and deliveries were delayed and lost through the dangers of navigation. The need became acute. Attempts were made to secure a supply from the New World, but here again a checkmate intervened in the fact that every available oceangoing bottom was already engaged months ahead. The Allies had no ships of their own to spare.

Then England offered to make the supreme sacrifice. In the heart of the land were the wonderful forests of Epping and Windsor, which had been guarded and saved for centuries. Through them only the huntsmen's horns had ever sounded. Yet in this exigency of war England offered them up. The forests were excellent for the cause of the Allies, being not more than two hundred miles from the firing lines.

But Englishmen are not a race of axmen. The art of the sawyer and the lumber maker were strange to the land. Then it was that Canada, home for two full centuries of the finest bushmen in the world, was appealed to.

Throughout the wide Dominion were thousands of hardy men who had spent all their lives in the fastnesses of the great woods. Lords of lumber, ladrones of logs, looters of limits were they. Since earliest boyhood some of these men had swung an axe, or drawn one end of a crosscut saw; others were proficient in the consummate art of the canthook and the peavy, and still others were masters of the business of sawmilling.

The response was rapid. Two battalions are now in England and Scotland, and a third is about to close a whirlwind recruiting campaign for men. And these soldiers in khaki and overalls are perhaps better serving their country in the capacity of woodsmen than had they shouldered a rifle and gone into the trenches.

The Quebec Situation

As has been stated, every province in Canada has done its share with the exception of one—Quebec. The surprising part of the recruiting campaign is the fact that the most sparsely settled, newest regions, comprising the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia, have been the ones to more than fulfill requirements. On the face of it, even in spite of their inferiority of population, it would seem as if the Province of Ontario in particular had been discriminated against in giving her a total of 185,000 men to raise. While no official explanation of this has been forthcoming, the reason is probably that the Government, when making out the apportionments, took into consideration the fact that the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia were largely agricultural in nature, with the lumbering and mining industries coming a close second. For the successful carrying on of these a certain percentage of physically fit males must necessarily remain. Ontario, while still to a large extent an agricultural district, was the possessor of many large cities, with a greater proportion of males that could be spared. This seems the most plausible solution of the figures. However, even though Ontario has not as yet raised her total of 185,000, her con-

tribution has still been very equitable, and becomes the more so when Quebec is seen to have a shortage of 97,000 men, as measured by the quota required of her.

So far as helping on the war is concerned, it might almost be said of Quebec that it is not in the Confederation. Only one French-Canadian battalion has been recruited up to strength. The 206th of Montreal was disbanded the other day for lack of recruits. Hearing this and looking upon the above figures, a stranger to the Dominion might be led to believe that Quebec is disloyal. That would hardly be correct. Quebec is loyal—to *Canada*, but to Canada alone. The population of the land is so strikingly distinct and different from that of the rest of the Dominion that a peculiar situation arises. The whole Quebec problem is a difficult one. There can hardly be any doubt that the French-Canadian inhabitants believe themselves in the right in not joining in the present war while at the same time the rest of the provinces are heaping recrimination and hurling vituperation upon them for not doing so. In view of this, the following explanation seems due at this time:

The major portion of the province is made up of French Canadians, speaking the French language, or rather a patois of it peculiar to the country itself. They are practically all simple farmers, illiterate for the most part. They know almost nothing of the outside world, and care less, being too busy wringing a living from their small farms to support enormous families, ranging from twelve to twenty in number—a specialty of the country. They hold that their duty is fully performed if they fight upon Canadian soil—that Canada should not go to war except to repel foreign invasion. In a word, they are loyal to Canada, but not to England, or Greater Britain.

This is one reason why the population of Quebec has not responded to the call to arms. Neither has the danger to France, the original mother country of the people of Quebec, roused them to action, for, intensely Catholic as they are, they see in France's present suffering the wrath of God. It is that country's punishment for her persecution of the

Church and the adoption of the Law of Associations, which a decade ago suppressed the convents and monasteries. Also these quiet, intensely religious, simply living people have an overweening horror of seeing any of their unsophisticated youth go overseas, where they might mix with the ungodly children of Old France.

With all these things taken into consideration, it will be seen that Quebec should not be reviled without giving careful consideration to the peculiar nature of its people. Of course, the other provinces cannot be expected to see these facts, suffering as they are from the great war. Only one who has lived long among these people, who knows their hearts and habits and has conceived their viewpoint, can fully understand them and their present attitude to the war. Such a man is the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux. And no better summing up of the French-Canadian habitant has perhaps ever been given than one which he delivered in a speech before the Canadian Club recently at Toronto. Mr. Lemieux said:

The habitant has belonged for many generations—for centuries—to Canada. He has no connection except, so to speak, intellectually, and that only in a qualified degree, with his mother country, France. His estrangement from France is manifold. First he was ceded, in 1763, by the Treaty of Paris. Even before that cession there was a marked difference between the habitant, the true *Canadien*, (of whom Montcalm speaks in his letters,) and the military class—the soldiers, officers, the bureaucracy—lording it over him. The correspondence between Montcalm and Vaudreuil is conclusive evidence of my statement.

Then the French Revolution—which destroyed monarchy, reorganized the Church, codified the laws and customs, centralized the Government—created an abyss, a gulf, between the habitant and modern France. The habitant has worked out alone his destinies in a new world. He has won his civil and religious liberty under the régime which followed the cession. All his traditions are therefore Canadian only. On the contrary, British settlement in Canada is of more recent period. Especially during the last half century an unceasing tide of immigration has flowed into Canada from the United Kingdom. Thus a great portion of the English-speaking Canadians have many relations upon the other side of the water. Thus, blood being thicker than water, they will naturally be stirred by all matters, be they political,

social, or intellectual, which affect Great, or Greater, Britain, where the French Canadian will not be interested.

All this is true, and from present indications it is very doubtful if the French-Canadian population of Quebec will do much to aid Canada in the present war. Only one thing probably would move them, and that is to convince them that the Dominion is in real danger from invasion by Germany.

Canadian Women and War

One of the most interesting of war-time phases in Canada is the remarkable part that women have played in it. From farmer's wife to bank president's wife, and all through the various ranks of society, women have come forth and performed nobly. There are probably two hundred societies, great and small, now engaged in relief and other kinds of work. The chief of these are the Red Cross and Belgian Relief Committees; the Independent Order of Daughters of the Empire; Women's Institutes, a very powerful rural organization; Secour National; the Woman's Canadian Club, and various church denominational organizations.

A detailed account of their efforts would fill a large book. The chief of these, however, seem worthy of mention. The report of Mrs. Stearns-Hicks, Convener of the Ontario Branch of the Red Cross, shows that from Sept. 1, 1914, to July 1, 1916, 3,555,803 articles consisting of surgical supplies, night shirts, slippers, socks, towels, &c., were sent overseas. Mrs. Ernest Stuart of the Red Cross Society of Quebec has furnished the following figures which cover the period from Sept. 1, 1914, to June 1, 1916: 4,453,060 articles sent, of which 997,126 were bandages; 1,493,343 surgical dressings, 1,962,591 garments and comforts, 5,756 filled shirts, 162,139 towels, 302,305 flannel shirts, 66,794 pairs of socks, 71,714 pillow cases, 27,753 sheets, and 17,812 pajamas. Mrs. Stearns-Hicks's report is equally detailed along similar lines, and both reports are instantly recognizable as women's work by their careful detail and exactitude.

These are the only two provincial reports available, but there are ten other



ONE LOT OF 379,000 PARCELS AT TORONTO RED CROSS DEPOT. CANADIANS HAVE SENT NEARLY 100,000,000 SUCH PARCELS TO THEIR SOLDIERS AT THE FRONT

great cities to which come enormous contributions of supplies, both from city and from rural sources, so it is safe to estimate that since the war 140,000,000 varied articles of the classes above mentioned have gone from Canada to the battlefields of Europe.

In addition there were "preserving campaigns," at which enormous quantities of fruit were done up for the soldiers. The amount for the present year has been set at 50,000 quarts. Women, too, were partly instrumental in bringing about prohibition, which is today in effect in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and which becomes law in Ontario in September. Due to this large boarding of the water wagon, the consumption of liquors dropped from .872 gallon per capita to .745, according to a report of the Inland Revenue Department issued on July 21. The consumption for 1916 was about three-quarters of a gallon per capita for spirits, 5 gallons of beer, and .0625 for wine. Women have won for themselves in the last year the right to vote in the four Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia; and a woman journalist, Nellie McClung, will stand for Parliamentary

election on the Liberal ticket in East Calgary at the next election.

The report of the Belgian Relief Committee, in the operation of which women have played a large part, showed that \$2,275,000 has been collected and expended for Belgian relief to July 1, 1916.

Fifteen hundred women are now engaged in shell and other munition works throughout Canada. They have been found careful and dependable workers, capable of handling high-power machinery and working on steel cuttings where a thousandth of an inch mistake makes the work useless. Chairman Flavell of the Imperial Munition Board recently sent out a call for more workers.

Another body of women is the Woman's Emergency Corps. Its work is to enroll all women willing to take employment formerly filled by men. As soon as a man enlists, the employer can turn to the Woman's Emergency Corps to fill the gap. Today women are doing almost entirely the clerical work of big loan and banking companies.

The women of Canada have shown themselves to be perfectly able to stand side by side with men in guiding the destiny of the Dominion.

Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

Inspector General, National Guard, State of New York; Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club

Major Dayton has been officially recognized by the United States War Department as an authority on strategy and tactics. He personally studied in their own lands the armies of England, France, Russia, Germany, Italy, and Turkey, and was chosen as an expert by The Army and Navy Journal to write its digest of military operations during the first periods of the present war. The subjoined article is the first of a series which Major Dayton is writing for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, embodying an authoritative history of the chief military operations of all the European armies since the beginning of the great conflict.

I.—Phases Before the Battle of the Marne

FOR some years the principal military powers of Europe had been gathered into two fairly well balanced opposing groups. France, whose declining population was cause for anxiety, had established a strong alliance with Russia, whose millions seemed unlimited. The relation had much that was natural to commend it, for the development of Russian economy provided a wide field for the investment of huge sums of French money. Thrift in France earned interest in Russia. The great man power of the Slav empire offered a needed reinforcement to the military strength of the French Republic.

England, an ancient enemy of both, sought a friendly understanding when it became evident a dozen years ago that Germany was destined to be England's great rival in the markets of the world and in the councils of the nations. Colonial disputes in Africa between Germany and France gave England the opportunity to lend her full weight to the French side in critical moments, and presently the world perceived that the Entente was composed of England, France, and Russia.

The Triple Alliance, the opposing group, comprised Germany, Austria, and

Italy; the first two closely united by many ties, but Italy not well enlisted in those ranks. Much that had prospered for Italy in the last seventy-five years was due to German help, but a bitter hatred of Austria rankled in the hearts of most Italians. Gratitude to Germany was swallowed up in jealousy of Austria.

This alliance controlled the best army the world has ever known. The Entente possessed in the British Navy the dominant naval power. German sea power had grown enormously since 1902, and ranked second among the sea forces of the world, but a second far removed from the leader.

Many shrewd observers believed that the great war, whenever it should come,

would find Germany and Austria fighting France and Russia, with both Italy and England holding aloof. This rather general impression proved wrong, for while Italy did desert the Alliance, England threw herself body and soul into the conflict on the side of the Entente. There can be no doubt today that, had England held off, France and Russia would have been disastrously beaten. An isolated England would later have had little power to oppose the commercial, co-



MAJOR EDWIN W. DAYTON

lonial and imperial ambitions of Germany.

The Strategic Elements

When the conflict began, geography played an important part in strategy. Germany and Austria formed a compact and wonderfully organized entity. Strategic railways were ready to serve every military need and promote the policy of carrying the war immediately on to the soil of the enemy. The military purposes of the Great General Staff were ably seconded by the mental convictions of the populace schooled in the theories of Treitschke and Nietzsche. "Blessed are the valiant" was mentally married to "If the end is big enough, all things are justified." The children born of this union were the invasion of Belgium and the U-boats' terrorism of the sea.

While the strategic situation distinctly favored the Central Powers in a short war, it was evidently a menace in a long-continued conflict. British naval supremacy could be expected to blockade all the sea routes of commerce and eventually to shut off many essential commodities not produced sufficiently within German frontiers. The great cities were storehouses well packed, but a serious shortage was a chief danger in a long war. The German plans for a hard fight—quickly won—linked good military principle with sound economic sense.

Allied failures in the Balkans ultimately entailed serious results. British sea power shut off the sea road for supplies, and then German diplomacy opened a wide road through Bulgaria and Turkey into Asia. The road was later widened by force of arms through Serbia and Rumania. It is quite evident that allied successes in this field would have caused a real bottling up of the Teutons. Elimination by starvation would have had good prospect of fairly prompt success.

Causes of the War

By 1917 the world at large has nearly outgrown all it believed in 1914 as to what caused the war. Ten years before the war began I was gathering first-hand

evidence in the Orient that war would some day be England's only recourse against German commercial invasion of fields essential to England's manufacturing prosperities. I shall not recount my facts, for I am sure that the causes were widespread and deep-rooted beyond the scope of any man's vision. The best guide as to what caused the war is a consideration of the present avowed purposes of the combatants. Worldwide ambitions bred jealousies and led to competitions which made a great war some day inevitable.

Here we are content to pass on to a consideration of the events which dropped the spark into the waiting magazines and set in motion throughout the world the machinery which for a generation had been preparing on all sides for the uses to which it was immediately put. Armies and navies were in existence which would never have been created without a general belief that some day soon just such a war was to come.

The claim that the war was a surprise which caught the great military nations unprepared was part of the partisan literary campaign incident to the outbreak. It was true only of Belgium. England's navy, always able to cope at a moment's notice with the full naval war strength of any two other powers, was always intended to hold enemies at bay until the small army could be increased as needed. Belgium really was unprepared, except for the system of fortifications, which had been somewhat overrated. The unpreparedness of all was in the failure to coax agriculture within their own frontiers into producing more nearly the national requirements.

Early Summer of 1914

As the complex causes of the war grew in remote places, and out of fundamental rivalries of great nations, so, too, the immediate causes were the result of ruthless greed in other years and in a remote corner of Europe.

Not many years ago two small Balkan principalities woke up one morning to find that an octopus from the north called Austria had throttled their little nationalities over night. Austria wanted

Bosnia and Herzegovina, and, as they were weak and small, took them in a day. It was easily done, and the story of the little provinces seemed a closed book; but there was another chapter waiting to be written in blood in the Summer of 1914.

Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, was notified that the Archduke Francis Ferdinand would visit the little city on Sunday, June 28, to inspect the troops of the garrison. The Duchess and a small official retinue accompanied him. The narrow streets of the little Bosnian city were crowded, and scattered through the motley groups were many who still longed to revenge the coup which had swallowed up the independence of the State. As the motor cars moved slowly, a package dropped on the hood of the leading machine. The Archduke picked it up and threw it to the rear. As it struck the pavement it exploded, and an aid in the car behind was wounded. The would-be assassin, who was arrested, was Cabrinovitch, from Trebinje in Herzegovina.

Later in the morning, after the ceremonial welcome at the Town Hall, the Archduke, disregarding the entreaties of all the officials, insisted upon driving to the hospital to visit the wounded aid. As the car moved slowly along the narrow way a second bomb was thrown, and this, too, failed to explode, but the thrower ran forward, firing three shots from a pistol. The Archduke was mortally wounded, and so, too, was his wife, the Duchess, who tried to shield her husband. Their assassin was a Bosnian student named Prinzip.

Both assassins were orthodox Serbs and members of the Greater Serbian Party, whose ambition since the Balkan war had been to rescue the Slavs subjugated by Austria.

The murdered Archduke was the heir to the throne of Austria, and the Government at Vienna determined to punish Serbia, known to be the rendezvous of Austria's enemies. The Mayor of Serajevo laid the blame for the assassination at Serbia's door.

On July 23 the Austro-Hungarian Empire presented its ultimatum to Serbia,

partly demanding reparation for the crimes at Serajevo, and also partly insisting upon safeguards for the future. Forty-eight hours were allowed for an answer, and Serbia, the ambitious little Slav State of the Balkans, appealed for advice to Russia, the mighty head of the Slav race. Within the forty-eight hours the answer went to Vienna, and nearly all the long list of requirements was accepted. Two of the demands provided for the direct intervention of Austrian representatives in the suppression of movements antagonistic to the Dual Monarchy and for participation in the judicial proceedings connected with the Serajevo conspiracy. These demands Serbia asked to refer to The Hague Tribunal. The Austro-Hungarian Minister announced that his Government would accept nothing short of a complete submission to all the demands, and, asking for his passports, left Belgrade on Saturday evening, July 25.

The succeeding week was one of great diplomatic activity, and diplomacy scored a complete failure. It was apparent that Russia proposed to back up Serbia and prevent Austria's absorption of this Slav State. England's Foreign Office, through Sir Edward Grey, made every effort to gather in London the Ambassadors of Germany, France, and Italy, and secure a suspension of all operations while they consulted as to means for avoiding the imminent catastrophe. Germany refused the British invitation and assumed a decidedly belligerent attitude toward Russia. The sentiment in Germany was expressed in the declaration, "We are tired of hearing the Russian rattle the sword in the scabbard." Austria, as late as July 30, seemed inclining toward a conference with Russia, but on Friday, the 31st, Germany presented an ultimatum to both Russia and France, and the Emperor decreed a state of war throughout Germany.

The demand upon Russia was for the immediate demobilization of the army, which was known to be under way. France was asked to define her attitude. On that day, too, England asked both Germany and France if they would respect the neutrality of Belgium, which

had been jealously guarded by British interests for a hundred years. France promptly agreed, and stated that the French troops had been moved back ten kilometers from the Belgian frontier. Germany did not answer, and England instructed the British Ambassador on Aug. 4 to ask for an immediate reply. The German Secretary of Foreign Affairs replied that German troops had already entered Belgium, and added in explanation that it was a matter of life or death for the German Army to strike quickly and by the undefended route.

Germany's Choice Deliberate

Briefly, the facts are that Germany preferred to violate the neutrality of Belgium by taking a route through that country into France instead of attempting to break through the powerfully fortified eastern frontier of France. The German Government seems not to have believed that England would enter the war because of this violation of Belgian treaty rights. As a matter of fact, English history confesses to many a violation of the sovereign rights of smaller nations. What Germany proposed to do was to attack France through Belgium, but that course would put German troops along the jealously guarded waters of the English Channel. Belgium refused to grant a free right of way in return for a guaranteed return to the status quo after the war. England decided that her place was among those lined up to fight Germany and Austria.

In passing I wish to say that it was no unheard-of idea that Germany might seek a road to France through Belgium. Ten years ago I put on my shelves a book written by a British officer telling for the benefit of military students the story of a campaign in Belgium by a British Army sent to oppose just such a movement as that which actually occurred in 1914. The sixteen maps are all military maps in detail, and all display an intimate professional knowledge of the Belgian terrain. The story tells of a campaign under Kitchener and French, following upon an inquiry which the German Emperor was supposed to address to England: "What will you do if I in-

vade France through Belgium?" England's answer was the sending of an expeditionary force to oppose the invasion.*

Turning from the professional prophecy disguised as fiction to the reality which occurred, we find that in the first week of August, 1914, the war had opened with England, France, Russia, and Serbia definitely at war with Germany and Austria. Moratoriums suspended payments and Stock Exchanges were closed. All armies were mobilizing and actual fighting soon began.

The Opposing Forces

The land forces of Germany were the strongest in the world. In numbers they were second to Russia, but in efficiency, organization, training, and equipment they were immensely superior. The splendid system originated in Prussia had been extended to every State in the German Empire. The liability to serve included every man of sound physique when he became 17 years of age. If wanted, his actual service began at 20, when he served for two years with the colors in the infantry, or three years if in the cavalry or horse artillery. Next came five or four years in the regular reserve. The seven years being completed, the soldier passed to five years in the first levy of the Landwehr, where he continued until the beginning of his fortieth year. Until 45 he remained in the Landsturm, where he joined men between the ages of 39 and 45, who had escaped the regular training. The best brains of all Germany were devoted to the task of making these soldiers the most efficient fighting force possible.

At war strength the first line of regular troops numbered about 1,500,000, with a second line of nearly another million. The complete resources in man power are estimated at between 8,000,000 and 9,000,000 men, of whom, perhaps, half had served with the colors. The developments of the war have led me to

*Nearly every detail of the opening campaign was foretold by a French Army expert and published in France a dozen years ago. No professional soldier was surprised when the war began where it did.

believe that these estimates were rather under the actual German resources. It is to be remembered that the commercial prosperity of the empire, which followed the victory of 1870, helped to induce large families, and, in consequence, there is a very large number of boys each year maturing for service in the ranks.

In Austria-Hungary the army organization followed generally the German system without approaching its perfection. The great conglomeration of races in the Dual Empire has not been well assimilated, and there are strong external ties affecting many of the people. Troops raised in Galicia would not fight well against Russia, and those from Tyrol would be ineffective against Italy. The best element in the Austrian Army was the cavalry, and the war turned out the poorest field for the mounted men since modern armies came into existence.

The war strength of the Austrian Army was in the neighborhood of 2,000,000 soldiers, with resources capable of doubling that figure, but including many untrained men.

French and Russian Strength

The French Army, since the defeat of 1870, had strained every resource to keep as nearly as possible abreast of the dangerous neighbor across the Rhine. A Frenchman called to the colors at 20 served three years in the regular army, and passed the years until he reached 48 in the regular reserve, territorial army, and territorial reserve. The war strength of the first line was between 1,250,000 and 1,500,000 men. To this was added a second line of 500,000 and a reserve of about 2,000,000. The morale of the French troops was the best in the world, and their infantry and their artillery ranked very high in technical training.

Russia, badly beaten in Manchuria by Japan, had taken that hard lesson well to heart, and her army had been reorganized and greatly improved in the past ten years. Universal military service in a population of upward of 170,000,000 cannot fail to produce man power. To train and equip it properly was Russia's

task. The term of service with the colors was five years, and therefore exceeded that of her western rivals. The peace strength of the regular army exceeded 1,000,000 men, and the war strength was doubtless in excess of 4,000,000. The reserves certainly could easily exceed 7,000,000.

The natural capacity of the Russian for soldier duty has been shown in many wars, even when his officers were largely incompetent. Since the experience in Manchuria the professional status of the officers has been vastly improved, and it is probable that the Russian Army went to war with less sawdust masquerading as powder and more real food in the commissariat than it had ever known. The corrupt bureaucracy at Petrograd seemed to have passed to a great extent. Emergencies later found reserves waiting to pick up the weapons of the wounded and dead, but the shortage was probably due more to hard necessity than to cynical dishonesty in high places.

British and Other Armies

The British Army at the outbreak of the war numbered about 250,000 regulars with the colors. The army reserve had 145,000 and the special reserve 81,000. The territorials numbered about 265,000, and in the national reserve were 200,000 more.

The small regular army of Britain was doubtless, rank and file, the best-trained professional unit that entered the war. The enlistment called for a longer term with the colors than in any of the Continental services, and the diversity of experience gained in worldwide service produced splendid soldiers. Later England and her colonies proved capable of raising 5,000,000 fighting men, but the loss in the early days of the war of most of the fine professional officers delayed greatly the training of the armies raised in 1915 and 1916. Serbia probably took into the war nearly 500,000 men, and Belgium contributed perhaps 150,000. The Serbs were hardy fighting veterans, badly equipped, but ready to accomplish much with little armament and less food. The Belgians were caught in the midst of a proposed reformation of the army, and

went to the firing line in parade uniforms, but they fought with high courage a series of losing rear-guard battles, which is the hardest possible test of morale.

As the war began it is fair to compute the man power of the Allies at about

twenty-five men for every fifteen on the Teuton side. The strength available on mobilization was in nearly the same proportion, but in Western Europe Germany was ready to put into the field at the beginning much the stronger forces—probably five to three, or even better.

The First Six Weeks—Western Theatre of War

Every military consideration dictated speed for the German plan of campaign. The best plan is that which uses fully all favoring factors. Germany had a large army exceptionally well organized, and a series of strategic railways planned and built so as to be available for military use. As the ultimate strength of the Entente would greatly exceed in men and resources that of the Central Powers, it would be necessary, in order to win the war, to conquer some vital element at once. As Germany did not produce quite enough foodstuffs for normal consumption, it would never do to let the foe occupy any of the land. Every square mile of productive soil that could be taken from an enemy would be a needed help in Teuton economy.

France was the dangerous military element in the ranks of the Entente, and must, if possible, be crushed before the great, slower masses of Russia could be brought into effective action.

For the sake of victory the first blow, and that a crushing one, must be aimed at France. The frontier between Switzerland and the little neutral State of Luxemburg was powerfully fortified and could not be quickly forced. The effort in 1916 to take one of the fortified elements at Verdun proved that the dread of that strong line was sound. All military experts for years had agreed that the natural line of attack would be against Northern instead of Eastern France, and would seek a route through Belgium. No one questioned the soundness of that plan as a military proposition. Its weakness lay in the fact that it violated a treaty guaranteeing protection of Belgium from invasion, a treaty to which Germany as well as France and England was committed.

Germany broke the treaty and forfeit-

ed the sympathy of many neutral nations. Breaking that treaty insured England's participation in the war. Personally I believe that England would have joined in the war in any event as affording the best opportunity to curb German ambition. Certainly any German sacrifice that would have kept England out would have been wise and profitable.

So far as the morals of great nations are concerned, they offer a sad field of investigation or discussion for historians. There is no great power in Europe which has not, at one time or other, in dealing with weaker nations, abused the power to do wrong. Literary patriots later spare no efforts to prove how much good the little fellow eventually got out of being wronged. In 1914 Germany felt it would pay to do wrong, and on Aug. 1 German troops illegally entered Luxemburg, where they met no opposition. The following day they invaded Belgium, where within a few days they met a resistance which caused unexpected losses and delays.

The various declarations of war were made between July 28 and Aug. 12, but for all practical purposes it will suffice to consider Aug. 1, 1914, as the date on which the war began.

Belgium's Resistance

Germany invaded Belgium in the direction of Liège with a force of from 30,000 to 35,000 men, using regiments which took the field at peace strength in order to gain time. The Belgian eastern frontier was defended by a series of quite elaborate fortifications on the Brialmont system. This distinguished Belgian military engineer, a great modern Vauban, had provided circles of mutually supporting forts built chiefly underground, and resembling in mechanical features the

turrets of armored warships. His system of defenses was smashed by the German artillery, when the heavy howitzers hurled broken concrete and steel girders down on the gun crews below. An efficient infantry support intrenched in field works would have greatly lengthened the resistance of the Belgians.

The Belgian engineers did everything possible to delay the oncoming Germans by destroying bridges, railways, and roads. General von Emmich was in command of the first German force which crossed the frontier, and the Belgians under Leman resisted heroically, hoping daily for French help. The German artillery rained high-explosive shells on the forts of Boncelles, Embourg, Chaudfontaine, and Fléron, and on Aug. 5 an infantry engagement west of the Ourthe resulted favorably for the Belgians. However, the fort at Fléron was smashed, and when the Germans brought up their huge howitzers, more forts were destroyed, and Leman did well to resolve upon a hurried retreat rather than face the certain loss of all his men by allowing them to be surrounded at Liège. The German infantry marched into Liège on Aug. 7.

General von Emmich's force, which took Liège, was the advance guard of the First Army, commanded by General von Kluck. The Second Army, under General von Bülow, was to join the First in the invasion of Belgium, and the two numbered nearly half a million men. A Third Army, under the Duke of Württemberg, crossed the Moselle between Coblenz and Treves. The Fourth Army, commanded by the German Crown Prince, advanced south of Treves. The Fifth Army, under the Crown Prince of Bavaria, advanced from Metz toward Verdun. The Sixth Army, under General von Heeringen, was for defensive use in Alsace.

On Aug. 12 a part of the German force advancing to attack the Belgian Army, then on the Dyle, met a severe but only local defeat at Haelen. The Belgians, meeting several small successes, imagined that no great force of German infantry was advancing into Belgium. As a matter of fact, they were being engaged by a screen of cavalry covering the great

armies of von Kluck and von Bülow. Soon the heavy siege howitzers were brought up behind the cavalry screen, and one after the other the remaining fortifications were torn to pieces. General Leman, unconscious, was captured in the ruins of Fort Loncin, but the resistance at this point had delayed the German advance along the railway through Liège.

By Aug. 15 the First and Second German Armies began to deploy, and the French were not yet ready to help the Belgians. A stand was attempted at Louvain, but by the 19th the Belgian field army had sought refuge within the circle of Brialmont forts at Antwerp and Brussels was abandoned to the Germans.

While Belgium retarded von Kluck, France attempted a diversion by an attack in Alsace. Altkirch and Mulhouse were easily captured, but, as a strong German force advanced from Neu Breisach, Mulhouse was abandoned.

Between Aug. 10 and 15 the French developed a vigorous attack upon the German outposts in the passes of the Vosges along the southeastern frontier. Dannemarie and Thann were captured, and columns belonging to the army of the Crown Prince were repulsed further north. On Aug. 21 the Germans struck back in great force and inflicted a disastrous defeat upon the French left. General Castelnau's army retreated behind the Meurthe, and the Germans occupied Lunéville.

Britain's Expeditionary Force

Between the 7th and the 20th of August England transported about 90,000 soldiers across the Channel and landed them without loss in France. The efficiency and the value of the great British Navy were thus demonstrated in the very first days of the war. That was the time for the German submarine to have struck, but neither then nor since was the U-boat able to interfere with British cross-Channel operations.

The staff plan arranged that the British expeditionary force should cover the left flank of the main French army, the two gaining touch at Amiens. Field Marshal Sir John French was in command, with Sir Douglas Haig at the head

of the First Corps and General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien leading the Second Corps.

The French army commanded by General Joffre joined hands with General French on Aug. 21 in Southern Belgium. The British centre was a little to the left of Mons, a town on the railway from Brussels to Maubeuge, and the front of about twenty miles was held by 76,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 312 guns.

On the left rear of the British Army was a French army, under General D'Amade, between Arras and Douay; to the rear, General Sordet's army below Maubeuge; on the right, the bulk of the French forces under Lanrezac, along the Sambre beyond Charleroi, with the right flank covered by the armies of Langle and Ruffey, both the latter deployed facing east. The angle in the French line followed that of the Rivers Sambre and Meuse, inside which it was formed with the sharp point of the angle at the fortified City of Namur, where 350 pieces of artillery were scientifically placed in a splendidly planned circle of Brialmont forts. The Belgian garrison at Namur somewhat exceeded 26,000 men.

Namur and Antwerp

The main German armies were now advancing rapidly through Belgium, and their artillery included the great siege trains which were allowed to get into position within three miles of Namur. The storm of heavy shells smashed one after the other of the forts, and the German infantry pushed across the Meuse below the junction with the Sambre. The Belgian infantry fought for a day, hoping for French succor, but on the 22d the Belgians and 5,000 French troops who had come up were thoroughly defeated. They retreated, hard pressed, toward Philippeville, and on Aug. 22 General von Bülow was in Namur, which was to have been the impregnable pivot on which the Allies were to hinge their operations.

While the main German army turned south to invade France, a considerable force had been dispatched to the north to deal with Antwerp. The Belgians at Antwerp numbered nearly 125,000, and on Aug. 23 they marched south and expelled the Germans from Malines. For

the next three weeks a series of hard battles was fought south of Antwerp, where the strong Belgian offensive threatened the communications of the great German armies invading France.

Between Sept. 13 and 17 a heavy battle was fought along the Malines-Louvain railway, which the Germans won. From there the Belgians slowly retreated to Antwerp, while the Germans burned three of the noblest towns of Europe—Louvain, Malines, and Termonde. Scores of villages and towns were wantonly destroyed. By Sept. 27 the great siege howitzers of the Germans began to bombard the southern forts at Antwerp. The German guns had an effective range of seven and one-half miles, while none of the Belgian artillery had a range of over six miles. During the first week of October two British naval brigades, numbering 6,000 men, arrived as a reinforcement for the garrison of Antwerp, and they brought an armored train and a few naval guns.

On Oct. 7 the Belgian Government officials went aboard ship and sailed for France. A large part of the population fled, and the British and Belgian garrison retreated. Thousands were captured and other thousands fled into Holland, where they were interned. On Oct. 9 the Germans entered Antwerp. England was chagrined at the pitiful failure of her attempts to help Belgium.

The Battle of Mons

After the fall of Namur the Germans inflicted a disastrous defeat upon the French inside the angle of the Sambre and the Meuse. In the confusion of the retreat no word was sent to General French, who remained at Mons, believing his right flank to be still covered by the French. Von Kluck attacked the British Army on Sunday, Aug. 23, at noon, and a few hours later a message from General Joffre told Sir John French of the retreat of Lanrezac's army, which he had supposed still sheltered the British right.

Sunday night and Monday morning, the 24th, the British made a very skillful retreat, and, thanks to brave soldiers and skillful commanders, escaped a great disaster. Between Aug. 23 and 28 General French's army retreated steadily under

constant pressure and suffering severe losses. On the 27th they came to a halt north of St. Quentin. On that day the French armies, which had attempted to hold the line of the Meuse, gave way, and the Germans crossed the river at Donchery. Mezières, Montmedy, and Longwy fell. On the west Lille fell, and only Maubeuge among the fortresses of Northern France still flew the tricolor. At Tournai a French brigade and a British battery were captured.

The Retreat from Mons

The French and British continued to retreat, and the Germans pushed on for Amiens and got astride the Paris-Boulogne line of communications. On Aug. 27 the Munster Fusiliers were cut off and all either killed or captured. On the 28th the British force was on the Oise between La Fère and Noyon after six days of constant fighting and marching. A welcome reinforcement came up to their support on the left, where General d'Amade's Sixth French Army arrived from the direction of Arras and threatened the right flank of von Kluck's pursuing army. About the same time strong French corps came up and relieved the pressure on the British right toward Guise.

The line La Fère-Laon-Rheims seemed like the proper place for the re-formed

French and British armies to make a stand, but the huge German armies on the French right flank crossed the Meuse, and after a hard two-day battle captured Rethel and crossed the Aisne. The German centre thrust forward toward Rheims, and the thoroughly beaten French were unable to make any effectual defense.

The result was to compel a further retreat of the British and the Fifth French Army on the west flank. Von Kluck's army took La Fère and Laon without a fight.

General Joffre, the supreme commander, after the successive French defeats on the Semois, the Meuse, the Aisne at Charleroi, Dinant, and Donchery, was withdrawing the whole group of allied armies behind the Marne. As they fell back the Germans pursued closely, and there were hard-fought rear-guard battles daily. On Sept. 3 the British succeeded in crossing the Marne and destroyed the bridges. On Sept. 5 they were some miles further south along the Grand Morin, a tributary of the Marne. To the south lay the forest of Fontainebleau and the Valley of the Seine. The French Government moved from Paris to Bordeaux.

[*Next Installment: Battle of the Marne.*]

The Reeds of the Somme

By CLINTON SCOLLARD

In the gusts of the Wintry weather
I heard the reeds of the Somme whispering together;
"Brother, brother,"
Each said to the other,
"Lo, how we have bled
For our beloved Mother—
For France, our Mother!
And shall it be in vain,
Our agony and pain,
All of the precious blood that we have shed?"
And the sky that leaned over,
Like a lover,
Answered, "Nay!"
And each wind upon its vagrant way
(Each wind that wandered wide)
Made answer, "Nay!"
And the Somme water,
Red with slaughter,
Answered, "Nay!"
So every brother reed was satisfied.

The British Navy's Titanic Task

By Admiral Sir John Jellicoe

First Sea Lord, Former Commander of the Grand Fleet

[An address delivered in London on Jan. 11, 1917, when Admiral Jellicoe was presented with the honorary freedom of the Fishmongers' Company]

THERE are great differences between the conditions of today and a hundred years ago. These lie in the greater speed of ships, in the longer range of guns, in the menace of the torpedo as fired from ships, destroyers, and submarines, and the menace of mines, the use of aircraft as scouts, and of wireless telegraphy. In the Napoleonic era the ships opened fire with guns at ranges of about 800 yards. The ships of today open fire at 22,000 yards' (or eleven nautical miles) range, and gunfire begins to be very effective at 18,000 yards. The torpedo as fired from surface vessels is effective certainly up to 10,000 yards' range, and this requires that a ship shall keep beyond this distance to fight her guns. As the conditions of visibility—in the North Sea particularly—are frequently such as to make fighting difficult beyond a range of 10,000 yards, and as modern fleets are invariably accompanied by very large numbers of destroyers, whose main duty it is to attack with the torpedo the heavy ships of the enemy, it will be recognized how great becomes the responsibility of the Admiral in command of a fleet, particularly under the conditions of low visibility to which I have referred. As soon as destroyers tumble upon a fleet within torpedo range the situation becomes critical for the heavy ships.

The submarine is another factor which has changed the situation, as this class

of vessel, combined with the use of mines, entirely prevents the close blockade resorted to in former days. In addition, these two weapons add greatly to the anxieties of those in command. It is one thing to fight an enemy that you can see. It is a different matter to deal with a

hidden foe. Thus modern conditions add immensely in this respect to the responsibility of those commanding fleets. They cannot get warning of the enemy being at sea until the enemy is well at sea. Nelson watching Villeneuve off Cadiz had his inshore squadron close into the enemy's port, and could see what was actually going on inside the port. The British fleet of today, watching the German High Seas Fleet, is not in the same happy position.

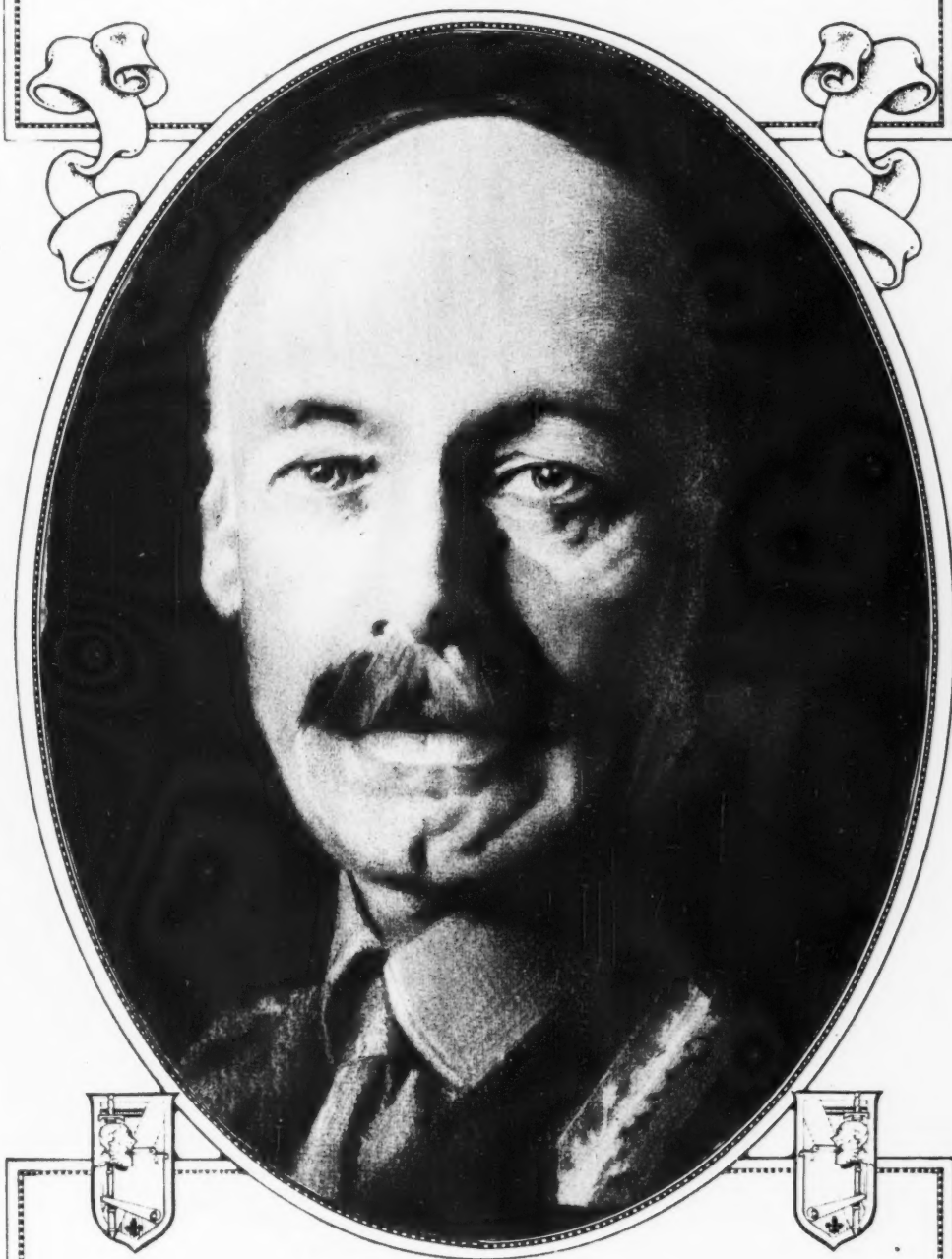
The further the watching ships are from the enemy's port the greater is the facility with which the enemy can escape and the greater is the difficulty of intercepting him.

There was never any likelihood in the olden days of the enemy's fleet escaping unseen unless the blockading squadron was forced from its watching position by bad weather, which, of course, occasionally occurred. In our day submarines and mines compel the watching force to take up their station further and further away. In spite of this, and in spite of the German boast as to the occasions on which the German fleet has searched the North Sea for the British fleet, our enemies have only on one occasion ven-



ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JELlicoe

GENERAL SIR HENRY S. RAWLINSON



General Rawlinson Is Sir Douglas Haig's Right-Hand Man
on the Somme and Had Charge of the Main
Offensive Operations in the Great Battle.

CARDINAL MERCIER, PAINTED BY BESNARD



**This Portrait of the Famous Primate of Belgium, Whose
Protests to Germany Have Aroused the World, Was
Painted by the Noted French Artist, Albert Besnard.**

tured sufficiently far with their main fleet to give us an opportunity to engage them. No vessels, neutral or British, have sighted the High Seas Fleet far from its ports on any occasion.

It is true that on Aug. 19 of last year the enemy's fleet came within measurable distance of the English coast, being sighted by some of our patrols, but turned back, presumably because the presence of our fleet was reported by their aircraft. Raids on the British coast with fast cruisers or battle cruisers have been carried out, but on each occasion the passage from German waters has been made, apparently, under cover of the night, the enemy appearing off our coast at dawn and retiring before comparatively small forces. Such feats were, of course, impossible in the days of slow speed, and are now undertaken probably only in the hope of enticing us into the adoption of a false strategy by breaking up our forces to guard all vulnerable points. I do not criticise the Germans for their strategy or for not running any risks with their fleet. On the other hand, their boasts of searching the North Sea for the enemy must be pronounced as without justifiable basis.

The next point to which I would like to draw your attention has reference to the worldwide nature of the war in relation to the British Navy. It is not, perhaps, always realized how far-reaching are our naval activities, and how great, therefore, is the call on our naval resources. It may be interesting to state that the approximate number of vessels of all classes which comprise the British Navy of today is nearly 4,000. This includes battleships, battle cruisers, light cruisers, destroyers, submarine boats, mine sweepers, patrols, and many other miscellaneous craft, all of which are necessary for the effective conduct of a war of today. Our activities range from the White Sea, where we are doing our best to assist our gallant Russian allies, past the North and South Atlantic, where cruiser squadrons are at work, on to the far Pacific, where we are working in co-operation with our Japanese allies. On the west coast of Africa the navy took no inconsiderable share in the fighting in

the Cameroons. In the Mediterranean the navy took a hand in the Dardanelles campaign, assisted by our gallant French allies, and is now working with both the French and Italian Navies in the Balkan campaign and in the Adriatic.

On the east coast of Africa the naval forces, including our river gunboats, monitors, and aircraft, have rendered great service to our kinsmen from the Union of South Africa. In the Persian Gulf and up the Tigris River numerous river gunboats and other vessels are assisting our army in the Mesopotamian campaign. Our East Indian squadron, which is working from Port Said through the canal and Red Sea, is helping the army of Egypt, and safeguarding communications with India, and thence to Far Eastern waters. In the early days of the war the navy was pleased and honored to work along with our gallant Japanese allies in the capture of Kiao-Chau. In fact, it may be said that there is no part of the world in which the navy has not duties and responsibilities in connection with this war, and I might draw attention to the arduous and continuous work of the cruiser squadron in home waters, which is mainly engaged in preventing supplies from reaching our enemies. Ships are intercepted and boarded in great numbers under every condition of weather, and some idea of the work may be gathered from the fact that an average of some eighty ships of all kinds are intercepted and examined weekly on the high seas by the vessels of this squadron.

The task of keeping the large number of ships working in all parts of the world, of supplying them with fuel, munitions, &c., can only be recognized by those in possession of all the facts. The work, too, involves a great effort on the part of the mercantile marine; without our mercantile marine the navy—and, indeed, the nation—could not exist. Upon it we have been dependent for the movement of our troops overseas—over 7,000,000 men having been transported—together with all the guns, munitions, and stores required by the army. The safeguarding of these transports both from the attack of such surface vessels as have been at

large and from submarine attack has been carried out by the navy. We have had to draw also upon the personnel of the mercantile marine not only for the manning of the transport ships but also very largely for the manning of the whole of our patrol and mine-sweeping craft, nearly 2,500 skippers being employed as skippers, R. N. R. The number of R. N. R. executive officers has increased almost fourfold since the outbreak of war. Indeed, it is impossible to measure fully the debt which the country owes to our mercantile marine. In the old days it used to be said that there was jealousy between the mercantile marine and the royal navy, but whatever may have been the case then there is no room now in the navy for anything but the most sincere admiration and respect for the officers and men of the mercantile marine.

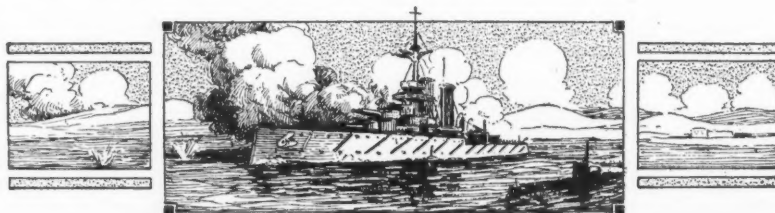
I think I know sufficient of the officers and men to believe that the feeling is reciprocated. Those of us who have been closely associated with the officers and men who man our armed merchant vessels and patrol craft have realized from the first day of the war how magnificent were their services, how courageous their conduct, and how unflinching their devotion to duty under the most dangerous conditions. The value of the services of the officers and men of the mercantile marine goes also far beyond their work in armed vessels. When one thinks of the innumerable cases of unarmed ships being sunk by torpedo or gunfire far from land, in a heavy sea, with the ship's company dependent alone upon boats for their safety, one is lost in admiration of the spirit of heroism of those who not only endure dangers and hardships without complaint but are ever ready to take the risks again and again in repeated voyages in other ships.

The submarine menace to the merchant

service is far greater now than at any period of the war, and it requires all our energy to combat it. It must and will be dealt with, of that I am confident. But we have to make good our inevitable losses, and in order to do this we are dependent upon the shipbuilding industry of this country. The munitions organization has done a great work for the output of munitions; it now remains for the shipbuilders and marine engineers to rival that work. The first essential is the whole-hearted co-operation of the men in the shipbuilding yards and in the engineering workshops. In the same way as Sir Douglas Haig has appealed to the munition workers to give up holidays and to devote themselves to the supply of those munitions which are essential for the safety and success of their comrades in the trenches, I now appeal to the men in the shipyards and engineering shops to put forth their best efforts, continuously and ungrudgingly, to keep up the strength of our mercantile marine, and to provide those gallant fellows who have gone through innumerable dangers and hardships when their ships have been sunk with new vessels to carry on the transport of the necessary supplies of food and material for the manhood and the industries of the country. No one recognizes more than I do how great has been the output of the shipyards up to the present time.

I would only say now, let there be no question of strikes, no bad time keeping, no slacking, and let masters and men remember how great is their responsibility not only toward the navy and the nation but also toward our allies. * * *

If we all do our part all will be well with us. Of one prominent fact I can speak with full confidence born of experience—the nation can depend on the navy being ready, resourceful, and reliable.



Comparative Strength of Navies Today

By Thomas G. Frothingham

Member of Military Historical Society of Massachusetts and of the United States Naval Institute

I.—The British and German Navies

WHETHER it is to be peace or war for our country now or in the future, the balance of naval power will be one great factor in our relationship with the rest of the world. That the United States should have a strong navy is now a doctrine accepted by all classes of our citizens. Even those most desirous for peace have seen that an enlarged navy is our best means of insuring peace—and seldom has there been so universal a public opinion reflected in Congress as that shown by the unprecedented vote of money for the increase of our naval defense.

It is intended in this article to give a reliable estimate of the comparative strength of the different navies without bothering the reader with quantities of figures and statistics. And first of all it must be understood that the United States Navy is the product of generations of highly trained men, and the result is a personnel that will make good use of all the increased resources that have been given to the navy. From the dawn of its history the United States Navy has made the gun the one important thing, and this policy has again been confirmed by the lessons of the war. Our navy has taken the right course, and there are no great mistakes to remedy.

It has become the custom in estimating naval power to count "dreadnoughts" as the essential elements of strength. This designation of the "all-big-gun" warships, named after H. M. S. Dreadnought, the first of the type in commission, included battle cruisers until the present war. Before the war it was assumed that the battle cruiser would take its place in the line of battle, but it is not now considered equal to this task. Consequently in the following comment

the word "dreadnought" will designate the type of all-big-gun battleship of the first line, and battle cruisers will be considered as a separate class.

Before reviewing the navies one by one, it would be a good thing to keep in mind a comparison of the types of dreadnoughts designed by different navies in the development of the class. On the following page are deck plans showing the different arrangements of the turrets.

Figure 1 is the original Dreadnought design of 1906. As will be observed, her maximum use of guns against an enemy would be eight, and from many angles the turrets interfere with use of the guns. Yet four of the British first-line battleships have this arrangement of turrets.

Figure 2 is the turret plan of the Helgoland class, and is the first arrangement of turrets on the German dreadnoughts. Although the guns are twelve, instead of ten, eight is the maximum broadside, and there is even more hampering of the turrets at different angles, with fewer guns that can be brought to bear. Eight German dreadnoughts have this arrangement of turrets.

Figure 3 shows the next step in placing the turrets—on the British dreadnought Neptune. By the echelon arrangement of the two central turrets there is a possible use of all the guns in a broadside, but looking at the deck plan from different angles it will be plain that there is still a similar drawback in getting the guns into use. Three British and four German dreadnoughts and British and German battle cruisers have this echelon placing of the turrets.

Figure 4 is the U. S. S. Michigan. The United States Navy has always adhered to big guns in turrets aligned over

VARIATIONS IN TURRET PLANS—BATTLESHIPS OF DREADNOUGHT TYPE

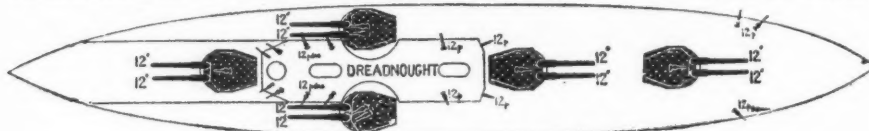


FIG. 1—DREADNOUGHT (BRITISH, 1906)
Ahead: 6—12 in. Broadside: 8—12 in. Astern: 6—12 in.

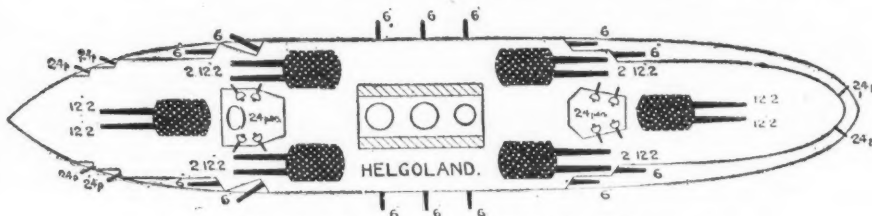


FIG. 2—HELGOLAND (GERMAN, 1908)
Ahead: 6—12.2, 4—6 in. Broadside: 8—12.2 in., 7—6 in. Astern: 6—12.2, 4—6 in.

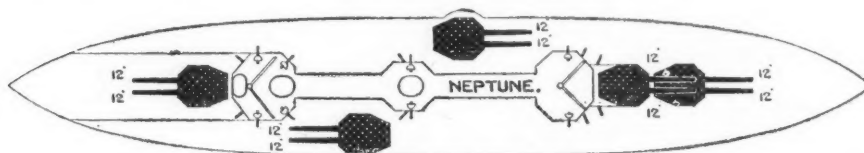


FIG. 3—NEPTUNE (BRITISH, 1908)
Ahead: 6—12 in. Broadside—10—12 in. Astern: 8—12 in.

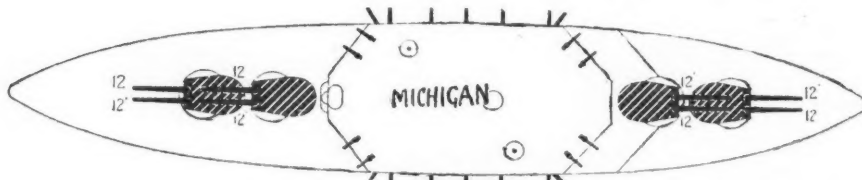


FIG. 4—U. S. S. MICHIGAN (1906)
Ahead: 4—12 in. Broadside—8—12 in. Astern: 4—12 in.

the keel in its development of the modern battleship from the monitor. The advantage of this is easily seen from the point of view of the best use of all the guns. All the United States battleships have their big-gun turrets aligned over the keel, and all the foreign navies have now followed this plan in their latest dreadnoughts, a fact which stamps the Michigan as one of the epoch-making designs in naval history.

The Michigan was designed in advance of the name ship, the Dreadnought,* although the latter was hurried and put into commission long before completed, and gave to the British Navy the name and prestige of the class. The real prestige remains with

the Michigan, as, although her design was the first, it has proved the final accepted design, whereas the design of the name ship, Dreadnought, was modified—and then abandoned.

These four deck plans show practically all the variations in the construction of dreadnoughts, and also of battle cruisers. Keeping them in mind will help in the following estimate of the navies of Great Britain, Germany, United States, France, Japan, Russia, Italy, and Austria-Hungary. These will be given in their order of tonnage.

One other thing should be made clear before studying the foreign navies. As was natural from making the gun the main factor, the United States Navy has taken a leading part in the development

*Rear Admiral C. L. Goodrich, U. S. N.

of the modern naval gun. This has resulted in a gun with an increased length in proportion to its calibre, and a high muzzle velocity without undue erosion. Our 12-inch naval gun, increased from 45 calibre to 50 calibre, with a projectile of 870 pounds and an initial velocity of 2,950 foot-seconds, is the most powerful naval gun of its class. Our next step, the 45-calibre 14-inch naval gun, has a projectile of 1,400 pounds and initial velocity of 2,600 foot-seconds. This gun has been increased to 50 calibre for the three dreadnoughts of the Mississippi class. For the later classes of dreadnoughts authorized by Congress a 16-inch gun has been designed. These guns will be the standard of comparison for armaments when considering the foreign navies.

The British Navy

The British Navy is much the strongest in the world, because, to retain control of the seas, Great Britain has made it her policy to maintain a navy powerful enough to fight any two naval powers that might combine against her. This is the origin of the term "a two-power navy," now so frequently used in our country.

The British strength, in the recognized first essentials of sea power, known to be built and building is as follows:

BRITISH NAVY — SHIPS BUILT AND BUILDING

Dreadnoughts	**38
Predreadnought battleships.....	31
Battle cruisers.....	

As a matter of course no naval information whatever has been given out by the Admiralty since the war, but there has been much talk of a great increase of the British fleet. It has been said that there was a secret building program, and that powerful dreadnoughts and surpassing battle cruisers had been turned out with a rapidity that dazed those who read. Although this sort of talk is still current, the battle of Jutland contradicts it.

The British Navy was using the best

**35 ships regular program, 2 Turkish and 1 Chilean (building in England) taken over early in the war.

force it possessed—and none of these marvels appeared.

Of the 38 dreadnoughts built and building the following is the list of recent construction in the program, with the dates of completion originally planned for each ship:

BRITISH NAVY—NEW CONSTRUCTION—DREADNOUGHT TYPE

Compl'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Main arm't.	Sp'd
1914..	Queen Elizabeth	27,500	8 15-inch..	25.0
1914..	Warspite	27,500		25.0
1915..	Barham	27,500		25.0
1915..	Valiant	27,500		25.0
1915..	Malaya	27,500	8 15-inch..	25.0
1915..	Royal Sovereign	25,750		22.0
1915..	Royal Oak	25,750		22.0
1916..	Ramillies	25,750		22.0
1916..	Resolution	25,750	8 15-inch..	22.0
1916..	Revenge	25,750		22.0
1917..	One Ship	27,500	8 15-inch..	25.0
1917..	Renown	25,750	8 15-inch..	22.0
1917..	Repulse	25,750		
1917..	Resistance	25,750		

The dreadnought strength of the British fleet in the battle of Jutland (May 31-June 1, 1916) is authoritatively† given as 29. In view of this it not only seems improbable that at the date of the battle Great Britain had made any great additions to the dreadnoughts in her known program, but it is unlikely that she had pushed to completion the ships in that program. The fact that Great Britain is known to have increased her dreadnoughts by the one Chilean and two Turkish warships taken over early in the war, considered in reference to the total at Jutland, makes any great increase still more unlikely.

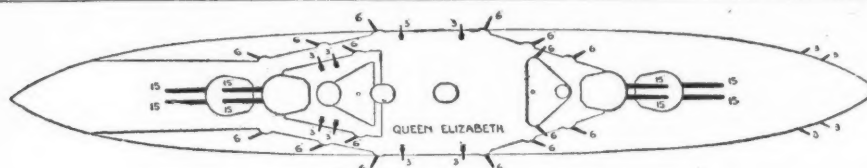
All this does not mean that every British dreadnought was in the battle—but the Grand Fleet was out, and there were few absentees.

It is even more plainly the same story as to the imaginary new battle cruisers. The following is the list of British battle cruisers at the time of the battle, with dates of completion:

BRITISH NAVY—BATTLE CRUISERS BEFORE THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND

Compl'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Main arm't.	Sp'd
1908..	Indomitable	17,250	8 12-inch..	26
1908..	Inflexible	17,250		26
1908..	Invincible	17,250		26
1911..	Indefatigable	18,750	8 12-inch..	25
1911..	Lion	26,350	8 13.5-inch.	28.5
1912..	Princess Royal	26,350		28.5

†Lieutenant Charles C. Gill, U. S. N. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.



H. M. S. QUEEN ELIZABETH

Compl'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Main arm't.	Sp'd
1912..	New Zealand....	18,800	8 12-inch	25.0
1913..	Australia	19,200	8 12-inch	26.0
1913..	Queen Mary....	27,000	8 13.5-inch	28.0
1914..	Tiger	28,500	8 13.5-inch	28.0

There were nine battle cruisers with the British fleet in the battle of Jutland, and it is known that every one of these is in the list above given. If there had been any new battle cruisers they would have been in evidence.

In the months that have followed the battle it is probable that there has been an increase of the fleet of dreadnoughts, but, realizing the other demands on the British yards, it is doubtful if the increase has been abnormal.

Evidently Great Britain has been obliged to increase greatly her fleet of light cruisers, destroyers, patrols, &c., to meet the increasing submarine danger. It is known that a great deal of her building capacity has been used in construction of the monitor type. Answering a question in Parliament as to delays in construction, the Ministry stated that there had been such haste in building monitors that some had to be rebuilt.

It has recently been given out that the British Government is building a large number of cargo ships, and the demands on the yards for repairs of the fleet, for supply and transport service, &c., must

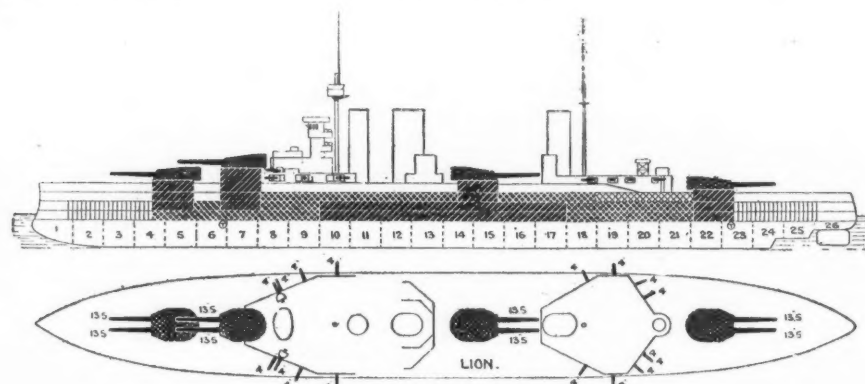
also be considered. Add to this the great drain on British labor to remedy the neglect to provide munitions, and the indicated lack of great increase to the fleet would be explained. Consequently, it would be reasonable to conclude that at the beginning of 1917 the British fleet of dreadnoughts does not greatly exceed the total given in the regular building program. Undoubtedly there has been a continuance of the future building program, and many ships have been laid down.

The Battle Fleet

From the above deck plan of the Queen Elizabeth it will be seen that the placing of the turrets follows the design of the Michigan.* All of the fourteen ships given in the list of new construction have this arrangement of turrets. Sixteen of the remaining dreadnoughts also have their turrets aligned over the keel. The other seven have the less efficient designs of the Dreadnought and Neptune.

The predreadnought battleships are all good ships of their class and have proved of great value, because their service in other fields has enabled Britain to keep her dreadnoughts in the Grand Fleet to oppose the German High Seas Fleet.

*Figure 4.



Ahead: 4—13.5 in.

H. M. S. LION
Broadside: 8—13.5 in.

Astern: 2—13.5 in.



H. M. S. INVINCIBLE

The Battle Cruisers

Great Britain originated the battle cruiser, which has had a great vogue among naval experts. The above plans show the design of the Lion class and the earlier Invincible class. Of the nine in the battle of Jutland three were lost—Queen Mary, (Lion type,) Invincible and Indefatigable, (Invincible type.) The details of the seven remaining ships can be found in the list of battle cruisers just given.

It will be seen in the list of recent construction that Great Britain did not add to her program any battle cruisers for completion after 1914. The five 25-knot dreadnoughts (Queen Elizabeths) were for 1914 and 1915. After that for 1916 and 1917 there is only one 25-knot ship—all the rest are 22-knot. This plainly shows a reaction against speed in fighting ships.

For armament eleven dreadnoughts carry 12-inch guns, twelve 13.5-inch, and fourteen 15-inch. The Chilean warship, now called the Canada, carries 14-inch guns. The most interesting thing for Americans is to compare our 14-inch naval gun with the English 15-inch—their attempt to surpass it. The English projectile is very heavy, weighing some 500 pounds more than ours, but the initial velocity is much less than in our gun, which greatly decreases the power of the English gun.

These 15-inch guns were first in use when the Queen Elizabeth attempted to reduce the Dardanelles forts. The result was a failure, although, it is stated, the ship was listed as a last resort, and the guns fired at increased elevation—naturally with a bad effect on ship and guns.

(The Queen Elizabeth was not in the battle of Jutland, but the other four ships of her class are known to have been in the action, as were other dreadnoughts with 15-inch guns—and the British 15-inch guns did not domi-

nate the lighter but powerful German 12-inch and 11-inch guns, as was expected.) Knowing this, we should feel that our more powerful naval guns would be able to cope with these English guns.

It is rumored, and it is very probable, that still larger English naval guns have been designed—even as large as 18-inch. But, in view of the British program of construction, it seems most likely that such guns are for the monitors.

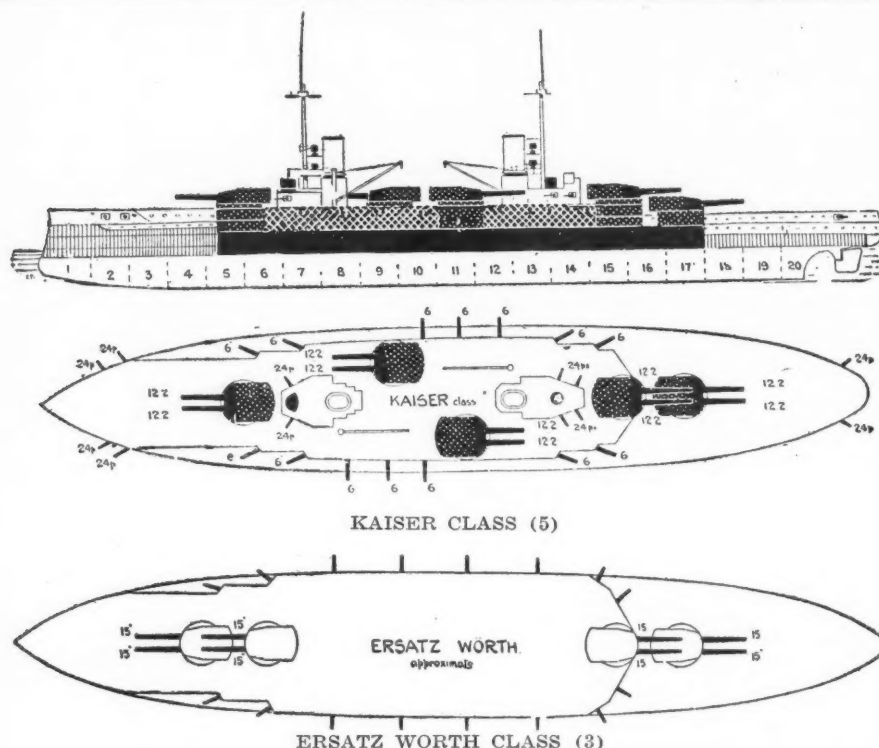
Monitors and Auxiliaries

Undoubtedly Great Britain has built floating batteries of the monitor type. These are for use against shore guns and in places where ships are exposed to torpedoes and mines. There is much mystery maintained about them, but it is known that there are a great many monitors, that some have very heavy guns, and that they have a specially devised cushioned protection against mines and torpedoes.

In all the auxiliaries of a great fleet the British Navy is well equipped—and when one realizes that this means cruisers, scouts, supply ships of all kinds, destroyers, submarines, aircraft, &c., with the additional burden of patrols, mine sweepers, and transport service, all of which are necessary to maintain British control of the seas, the total is astonishing. In every sea area there is need of some service of the British Navy, while facing the German fleet its dreadnoughts command the North Sea.

The German Navy

Germany became the second naval power of the world in the years that succeeded the laying down of the Dreadnought, (1906.) This was a time of great activity in the foreign navies. In 1907 Germany had laid down four dreadnoughts, in 1908 four, in 1909-10 five, in 1911 four. In the same years the United States Navy had been restricted



to the two-battleships-a-year policy—and had yielded second place to Germany.

The known strength of the German Navy is:

GERMAN NAVY—BUILT AND BUILDING	
Dreadnoughts	20
Predreadnought battleships	19
Battle cruisers	*7

As in the case of the British Navy, absolutely no German naval information has been given out since the start of the war. Concerning the German Navy also sensational stories of increased strength have been circulated. It was related that the ships were being rearmed with new guns of great power, that there had been secret construction, and that an unexpected strength had been developed, but at the battle of Jutland it was the same story. Germany brought out her whole fleet—and there was no new element of strength.

The twenty German dreadnoughts in the known program consist of thirteen

ships, and the following new construction, which is given with proposed dates of completion:

GERMAN NAVY—NEW CONSTRUCTION—DREADNOUGHT TYPE

Compl'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Main arm't.	Sp'd
1914..	Grosser Kurfürst	25,388	10 12-inch.	22.0
1914..	Markgraf	25,388		22.0
1914..	König	25,388		22.0
1915..	Kronprinz	25,388		22.0
1916..	"T"	28,500	8 15-inch.	23.0
1916..	Ersatz Wörth	28,500		23.0
1917..	Ersatz Fr'd'h III	28,500		23.0

The German battle cruisers in the known building program were as follows at the date of the battle of Jutland:

GERMAN NAVY—BATTLE CRUISERS

Compl'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Main arm't.	Sp'd
1910..	Von der Tann	19,100	10 11-inch.	27.6
1911..	Moltke	22,632		28.4
1913..	Seydlitz	24,385		29.2
1914..	Derfflinger	28,000	8 12-inch.	27.0
1915..	Lützow	28,000		27.0
1916..	Ersatz Hertha	28,000		27.0
1917..	E'tz Vic'a Louise	28,000		27.0

To the above must be added the battle cruiser Salamis, building for Greece, which the Germans took over early in the war.

In the battle of Jutland the German

*Six, regular program; one battle cruiser building taken over from Greece.

High Seas Fleet is given as sixteen dreadnoughts, five battle cruisers, and six predreadnoughts.*

This can only mean, as in the case of the British Navy, that instead of great additions to the German fleet, it does not seem possible that their building program had been hurried to completion. The battle cruiser Lützow was lost in the battle. The details of the remaining ships are shown in the above list.

In the months that have followed Jutland it is improbable that any great addition has been made to the building program of the German fleet. There must have been a strong tax on their yards for repairs; the original ships of the program were to be completed, and there must have been a great effort to turn out submarines for their latest offensive. As in the case of the English fleet, it is probably safe to conclude that there has been no abnormal increase of their fighting fleet.

German Battle Fleet

The German dreadnoughts are known to be well built and able ships, but in many of them the arrangement of the turrets hampers the guns. This will be plain to the reader from the plans with this article. Eight dreadnoughts have the design of the Helgoland, five (Kaiser class) have the echelon arrangement shown in the diagrams, and seven have the turrets aligned over the keel. Of these last, from the evidence of Jutland, it seems improbable that the three ships of the Ersatz Wörth class have been completed.

The German predreadnought battleships, although they are valuable assets to the German Navy, are not as good as the corresponding British ships, and are far inferior to our battleships of the same date.

As in the case of the British fleet, it must not be inferred that every German battleship was in the battle of Jutland, but the Germans must have taken out the strongest fleet available, and if there had been any abnormal increase it would have been in evidence. If there had been

more dreadnoughts and battle cruisers available they would not have eked out their fleet with predreadnoughts.

Auxiliaries of Battle Fleet

Germany has suffered in cruisers of all classes, as was natural from keeping many of these ships at sea to do all the harm possible to her enemies; but the battle of Jutland showed that she has built some new light cruisers. It was also apparent that she had plenty of destroyers, and her aircraft would always have to be reckoned with. But her greatest naval development has been the submarine. It is known that she has built large numbers for the effort to cut off England's supply of food. Her naval officers have acquired great skill in the use of their U-boats, doing increasing harm to shipping—and to check their inroads is the problem of the Entente Allies.

Of the German dreadnoughts four carry 11-inch guns, thirteen carry 12-inch guns, and three 15-inch guns. These last are the ships of the Ersatz Wörth class in the list given, and, from the evidence of Jutland, it is doubtful if all are completed. Consequently the real comparison should be made with the 11-inch and 12-inch guns. Unquestionably these German guns did well against the English 13.5-inch and 15-inch guns in the battle of Jutland. Against our naval guns, more powerful because of the greater initial velocity, it might be a different problem.

These twenty German dreadnoughts built and building carry forty-eight 11-inch, one hundred and thirty 12-inch, and, when the three Ersatz Wörths are completed, twenty-four 15-inch guns. This is a formidable total, but, from the faulty placing of the turrets, as explained, a large part of these guns could not be used against an enemy fleet in a broadside. Out of ninety-six guns on the eight ships of the Westfalen and Helgoland classes, (see Figure 2,) the maximum use of guns would be sixty-four. It will be seen from the design of the Kaiser class that the echelon arrangement of the two central turrets greatly hampers the use of all the guns in the five ships of this class.

*Lieutenant Charles C. Gill. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

The armament of the completed dreadnoughts in the United States Navy is sixty-four 12-inch, sixty-four 14-inch, with the addition of thirty-six 14-inch guns when the three ships are completed of the class of the Mississippi, recently launched. This does not include the sixteen 12-inch guns of the two ships of the Michigan class, although they would undoubtedly be in the battle fleet and superior to many of the German dread-

noughts, because these two are not carried in our list as first-line battleships. Every one of these guns would be available as a broadside, as all our ships have the turrets aligned over the keel.

From this comparison the reader will see at once that the battle fleet of the United States Navy would be able to face the German dreadnoughts. Other comparisons will be made when considering the United States Navy.

Curious Phenomena of Battle Acoustics

Editor CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

In your January issue there is an interesting article from *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, Paris, on the phenomena of detonation of artillery and an explanation of the conical wave of condensation attendant upon high-velocity projectiles.

The eccentric action of acoustics, causing explosives to produce irregular transmission of sound, was recorded on two notable occasions during the civil war.

In the action of the Merrimac and Congress at the mouth of the James River, March 8, 1862, the transference of sound waves was prevented at a distance of three and one-half miles over water, yet persons living 150 miles away plainly heard the cannonade.

On June 27, 1862, was fought the "silent battle" of Gaines Mill. General Law of Lee's army, writing of it in *The Southern Bivouac* for May, 1887, has this to say: "To the troops stationed near the river, on the Richmond side, the action at Gaines Mill was plainly visible, that part of it, at least, which took place on open ground. I have been told by an eyewitness that from Price's house on the opposite side he could distinctly see the Confederate lines advancing to the attack through the open ground beyond the Chickahominy Swamp and could distinguish the direction of the battle by the volume of smoke arising from the woods further to the Confederate centre and left. But it was all like a pantomime; not a sound was heard, neither the tremendous roar of musketry, nor even the reports of artillery. For nearly two hours, from 5 to 7 o'clock, on a clear midsummer afternoon, 50,000 men with at least 100 pieces of field artillery fought under these conditions.

Mr. Tyndall experimented in acoustics in the English Channel off Dover, in 1873-4, and came to the conclusion that on clear days the air may be composed of differently heated masses, saturated in varying degrees with aqueous vapors, which produce a deadening effect in the atmosphere.

While the phenomena of these battles are not identical with those mentioned in *La Revue*, still they parallel them closely enough to be of interest in connection with them.

CHARLES FARNER CORK.

Waukesha, Wis.



Naval Power in the Present War

By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill

United States Navy

This article is the third of a series contributed to *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*—with the sanction of the United States Naval Department—by Lieutenant Gill of the United States superdreadnought *Oklahoma*, with special regard to the naval lessons furnished by the sea engagements of the present war.

III.—The Battle of Jutland

THE United States has decided that the price of security is a first-class navy. Notwithstanding the optimism, more or less prevalent, that armies and navies may possibly be done away with at some future time, the people of this country feel that an army and a navy are now necessary as a policy of national insurance, and will continue to be necessary for some time to come.

Nations taking part in the war will profit more from its naval lessons than can neutral nations, who, as mere spectators, are denied much of the information attending actual experience. This should act as an additional incentive for the United States to look closely into current events in Europe and, by reasoning from them, get as much help as possible in planning America's defense program. What constitutes an adequate navy? What should be the composition of a modern fleet? How many battleships? How many battle cruisers, light cruiser scouts, air scouts, destroyers, submarines, mine layers, and auxiliaries? What should be the size, radius of action, speed, armor, and armament of these different types of ships? How is the personnel to be supplied and trained? How should the ships be grouped together under the various modifying conditions governing naval strategy? How should they be used

in fighting an enemy in the variety of circumstances affecting naval tactics?

To search for answers to these questions in the light of the experience of the present war is the function of the Navy

General Board, headed by the Chief of Operations, and assisted by the War College Staff, by the Office of Naval Intelligence, and by recommendations from the commanders of the various fleets and shore stations. It requires expert knowledge to make the necessary technical analysis and work out the details of the naval program. The average citizen has neither time nor inclination to go exhaustively into details, and this task

devolves properly upon those who have devoted their lives to a study of naval science.

On the other hand, the naval experts cannot do it all. The success of their endeavors depends primarily upon the intelligent interest and co-operation of the nation they serve. In order to get a first-class navy it is essential that those who vote should understand the general principles governing the size, composition, and training of battle fleets. It is the objective of these pages to help the non-technical man to a comprehension of these principles, which are not difficult to understand, although they are of first importance as the starting point from



VICE ADMIRAL BEATTY

which the highly scientific deductions proceed.

Battle Off Dogger Bank

Before turning to the battle of Jutland it might be well to give brief attention to the Dogger Bank action, fought seventeen months earlier, on Jan. 24, 1915. This was a running fight in the North Sea between two battle cruiser squadrons, during which the German armored cruiser *Blücher* was sunk, having been abandoned by her retreating consorts. No English ship was lost.

The battle cruiser engagement off the Dogger Bank was the first between modern big-gun ships. Particular interest is also attached to it because each squadron was accompanied by scouting and screening light cruisers and destroyers. It was fear of submarines and mines, moreover, that influenced the British to break off the engagement, and it is also reported that a Zeppelin airship and a seaplane took part, and perhaps assisted in the fire control of the Germans.

At daybreak on Jan. 24, 1915, Vice Admiral Sir David Beatty's battle cruiser squadron, consisting of the *Lion*, *Princess Royal*, *Tiger*, *New Zealand*, and *Indomitable*, were patrolling in company with four light cruisers, while three light cruiser flotilla leaders, with their destroyers, were in station ahead. At 7:25 A. M. the *Aurora*, one of these flotilla-leading light cruisers, engaged an enemy ship. This scouting and screening force got in touch with and guided the British battle cruisers toward the enemy battle cruiser squadron, under Rear Admiral Hipper, consisting of the battle cruisers *Seydlitz*, *Derfflinger*, and *Moltke*, with the armored cruiser *Blücher*. The German capital ships were also accompanied by light cruisers and destroyers. It was a stern-chase fight, in which ranging shots were tried at about 20,000 yards and hits reported made at about 18,000 yards. It appears that practically all the fighting between the battle cruisers was done at long ranges. The slower armored cruiser *Blücher* dropped astern, and early in the fight developed engine trouble. Her 8.2-inch guns were of little use, and at 10:48 she drew out of line in a defeated

condition. At 12:37 she sank, having received, very likely, her deathblow from a torpedo.

Disregarding the *Blücher*, the stern fire of the German battle cruisers consisted of four twelve-inch and sixteen eleven-inch, as opposed to the British bow fire of twelve 13.5-inch guns from the leading three ships and the bow twelve-inch from the *New Zealand* and *Indomitable*. These latter two ships, however, being two or three knots slower than the other three, appear to have fired for the most part only at the *Blücher*. At 11:03 the *Lion* was put out of action, and she was later towed into port with a considerable list. Considering the long range, the gunnery on both sides appears to have been excellent, and it is hard to say which side did the better shooting or whose battle cruisers suffered the more damage.

The light cruisers and destroyers took little part in the actual fighting. The British flotillas were kept most of the time on the unengaged quarter of Admiral Beatty's squadron. At about 9:30 the German destroyers threatened an attack, and one division of the British destroyers manoeuvred so as to pass ahead of the battle cruisers and screen them; but the threatened attack was not made. Later on the German destroyers again appeared to be preparing for an attack, and the *Lion* and *Tiger* opened fire on them, causing them to retire and resume their original course. Shortly before noon, about seventy miles from Heligoland, the engagement was broken off by the British because of the alleged presence of enemy submarines.

The conditions surrounding this battle were ideal for illustrating the functions of battle cruisers. The German warship raid on the British coast of the previous month was still fresh in mind; and when this situation off the Dogger Bank arose, the timely interposing of Admiral Beatty's superior force, the fast chase, the long-range fighting, the loss of the *Blücher*, and the hasty retreat of the enemy, were all particularly pleasing to the British people. As a result the battle cruiser type of ship attained great popularity.

The question of speed, armor, and arma-

ment, however, is a perplexing problem. If the British cruisers had been faster, with less armor, they might have destroyed the inferior German squadron. On the other hand, had the German ships been slower, with heavier guns and better armor protection, they might have protected the retreat of the *Blücher* and beaten off the faster British ships with greater damage to them and less danger to themselves. Before going deeper into this question it is advisable to consider further data on the war-time usefulness of battle cruisers. This type of ship will therefore be adverted to later on.

Turning now to the battle of Jutland, it is appreciated, in attempting a narrative of the principal events of the engagement, together with a discussion of some of the points in strategy and tactics illustrated, that many of the details are lacking. Some of these details will be uncovered in the course of time, but many—having been lost in the sea along with the ships that went down—can only be subject matter for speculation.

The battle of Jutland was fought between the British Grand Fleet and the German High Seas Fleet during the late afternoon and evening of May 31, 1916, with torpedo attacks continuing throughout the night. A decisive engagement was probably prevented by thick weather and approaching darkness, but hard blows were given and sustained on both sides.

It is a well-recognized experience of history that the public gauges the magnitude of a battle by the consequent changes in the political and military situation. At times a comparatively minor engagement between relatively small forces wherein little actual fighting occurs will, if followed by a decided change in an international situation,

assume in the public eye the proportions of a big battle. On the other hand, it sometimes occurs that a great battle, measured by the size and power of the forces involved and the actual fighting done, will, if indecisive and unproductive of changes in the status quo, appear small in the public eye and often arouse a certain amount of popular dissatisfaction on both sides. It may be that history will place the battle of Jutland in this latter class. But, even so, when one considers the actual fighting done, and judges by the size, number, and various types of the ships engaged, their ability to manoeuvre, their power to give and their power to sustain hard blows, this battle is far and away the biggest the world has ever seen. Never before has there been brought together such an array of fighting machines—dread-

noughts, scout cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and aircraft. Also, it took intelligence, nerve, and endurance of the personnel to operate this powerful machinery under varying conditions of wind, sea, and weather. Assuredly it would seem that in this action and all that it exemplifies both in the ships engaged and in the requirements demanded of the personnel there must have been illustrated the best there is of naval art and naval science.



VICE ADMIRAL SCHEER

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The Forces Engaged

The British Grand Fleet comprised:

(a) An advance force under Vice Admiral Beatty, consisting of six battle cruisers, (four *Lions* of 28.5 knots speed, each carrying eight 13.5-inch guns, and two *Indefatigables* of 25 knots speed, each carrying eight 12-inch guns,) supported by the Fifth Battle Squadron, under Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas, (four 25-knot battleships of the *Queen Elizabeth* class, each carrying eight 15-inch guns.)

(b) The main body, under Admiral Jellicoe—flying his flag in the *Iron Duke*—consisting

of a fast wing under Rear Admiral Hood, (three 26-knot battle cruisers of Invincible class, each carrying eight 12-inch guns,) a division of four armored cruisers under Rear Admiral Arbuthnot, and twenty-five dreadnoughts in three squadrons commanded by Vice Admirals Burney, Jerram, and Sturdee.

(c) About twenty light cruisers and 160 destroyers, divided between the advance force and the main body.

The German High Sea Fleet comprised:

(a) An advance force under Vice Admiral Hipper, consisting of five battle cruisers, (three Derfflingers of probably 27 knots speed, each carrying eight 12-inch guns, and two Moltkes of probably 28 knots speed, each carrying ten 11-inch guns.

b) The main body under Admiral Scheer, consisting of sixteen dreadnoughts and six predreadnought battleships.

(c) About twenty light cruisers and eighty or ninety destroyers, divided between the advance force and the main body.

At 2:30 P. M., May 31, 1916, the naval situation in the North Sea was approximately as follows: The German advance force of five battle cruisers under Vice Admiral Hipper was some eighty or a hundred miles to the northwestward of Horn Reef, while fifteen miles to the south and west of him was Vice Admiral Beatty with the British advance force of six battle cruisers, supported by four fast dreadnought battleships under Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas. Admiral Jellicoe, in command of the British Grand Fleet, was about fifty miles distant with the main body to the northeastward, while Admiral Scheer, in command of the German High Seas Fleet, was about the same distance away with his main body to the southeastward. German submarines were sighted soon after the beginning of the engagement. British and German aircraft were present, but do not appear to have figured very prominently in the conflict.

It is convenient to divide the battle into the following four phases:

First Phase: British advance force encounters German advance force. Six British battle cruisers, supported by four dreadnought battleships, engaged with five German battle cruisers, (5:49 P. M. to 4:45 P. M.)

Second Phase: Action between British advance force and van of High Seas Fleet. Four British battle cruisers and four dreadnought battleships engaged with five German battle cruisers and van of German battle fleet, (4:45 P. M. to 6:15 P. M.)

Third Phase: British Grand Fleet engaged with German High Seas Fleet, (6:15 P. M. to dark.)

Fourth Phase: Torpedo attacks and screening operations during the night, (May 31 to June 1.)

Each one of these phases will be taken up separately in the order named.

The First Phase

Encounter Between the Battle Cruiser Squadrons Commanded by Vice Admiral Beatty (British) and Vice Admiral Hipper, (German.)

The British Grand Fleet had left its bases on the 30th, and was sweeping through the North Sea to the southward with Vice Admiral Beatty's force cruising well in advance of the main body. Besides the six battle cruisers led by Vice Admiral Beatty in the Lion and the four 25-knot battleships of the Elizabeth class, led by Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas in the Barnham, this advance force was accompanied by three light cruiser squadrons and four flotillas of destroyers. At 2:20 P. M. the light cruiser Galatea reported the presence of German ships in considerable force and at 2:25 a British seaplane was sent from its mother ship Engadine to scout to the northeastward. Visibility at this time was good. The wind was south-east.

At 3:31 the German battle cruiser squadron (five ships) under Vice Admiral Hipper was sighted to the northeastward at a range of 23,000 yards. The two squadrons formed for battle, and approached each other on slightly converging southeasterly courses. Light cruisers and destroyers of both sides assumed screening formations, and the opposing light cruisers in the more advanced stations were engaged during the battle approach. At 3:48 fire was opened simultaneously by both sides at about 18,500 yards range. The squadrons fought on parallel courses curving to the southeast. At 4:08 the battleships under Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas opened fire at 20,000 yards' range, but it is doubtful if these ships got close enough to do any effective work during this phase of the battle. About this time submarines were reported both on the engaged and unen-

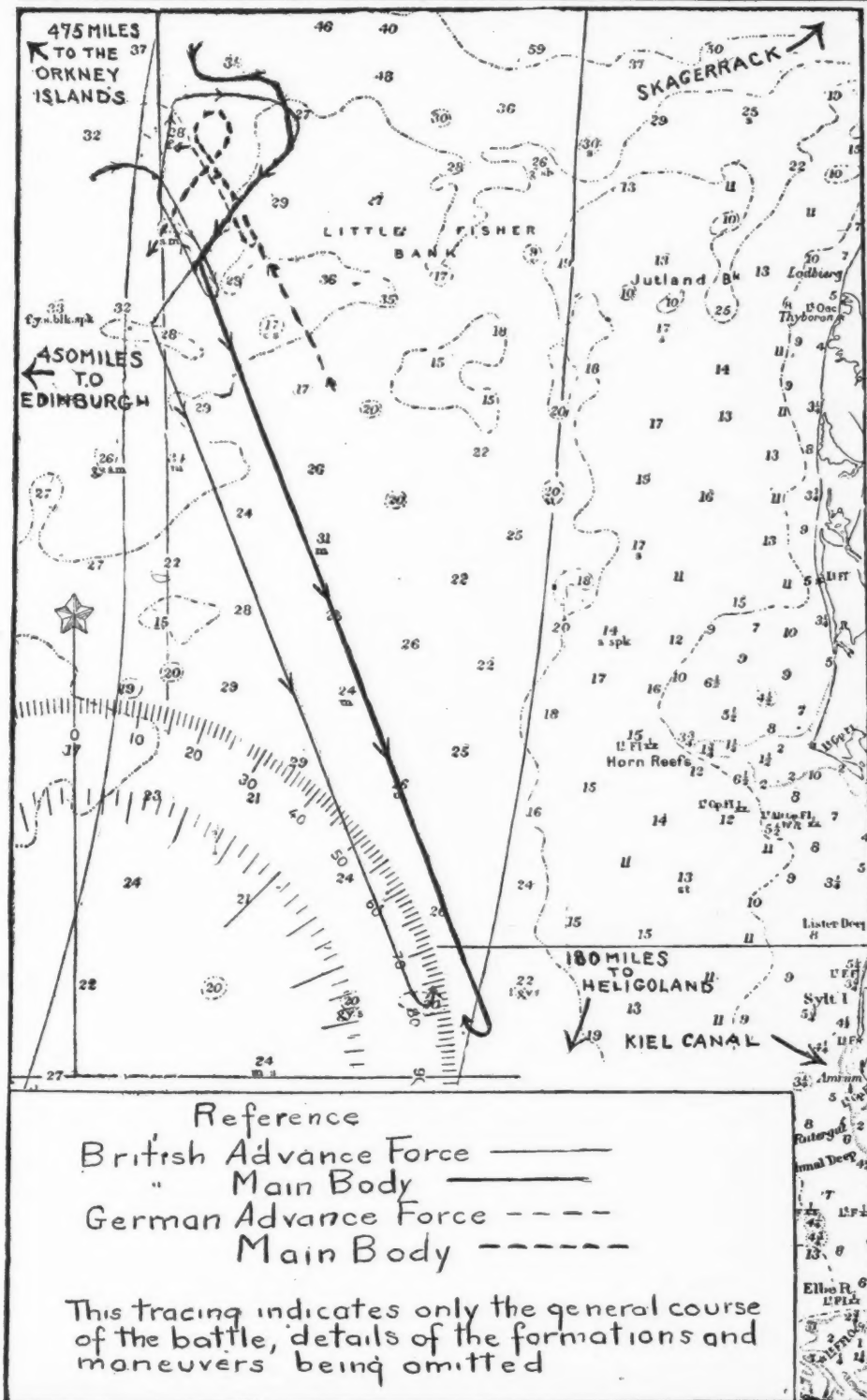


DIAGRAM OF THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND

gaged beams of the British battle cruisers. Destroyers were active in attempts to screen the big ships from underwater attack.

Ten minutes after the engagement became general an explosion occurred in the *Indefatigable*, and she sank almost immediately. At 4:15 twelve British destroyers moved forward to attack the German battle cruisers; German light cruisers and destroyers made a similar advance at the same time. A fierce engagement ensued between these light craft at close quarters. The Germans did not press their torpedo attack, but six of the British destroyers continued the advance under a heavy shell fire, and fired torpedoes at the German lines. At 4:30 a mighty explosion occurred in the *Queen Mary*, and she went down so quickly that the following ships in the formation are reported as having steamed right over her. At 4:42 the German battle fleet was sighted to the southeast, and the British ships turned right about (180 degrees) in succession. The German battle cruisers also altered course 16 points, and the action continued on a northwesterly course, beginning what we will call the second phase.

According to German Admiralty reports, during the first phase, lasting about an hour, from 3:49 to the time the British changed course 16 points at 4:45, the British battle cruiser *Indefatigable*, (tonnage 18,750, main battery eight 12-inch, carrying 899 men,) was sunk at 4:05, and the *Queen Mary*, (tonnage 27,000, main battery eight 13.5-inch guns, carrying 1,000 men,) was destroyed at about 4:35. It is also reported that the British lost four destroyers and the Germans two. Before taking up the second phase of the battle, a few points bearing on the first phase will be briefly discussed.

Cause of British Losses

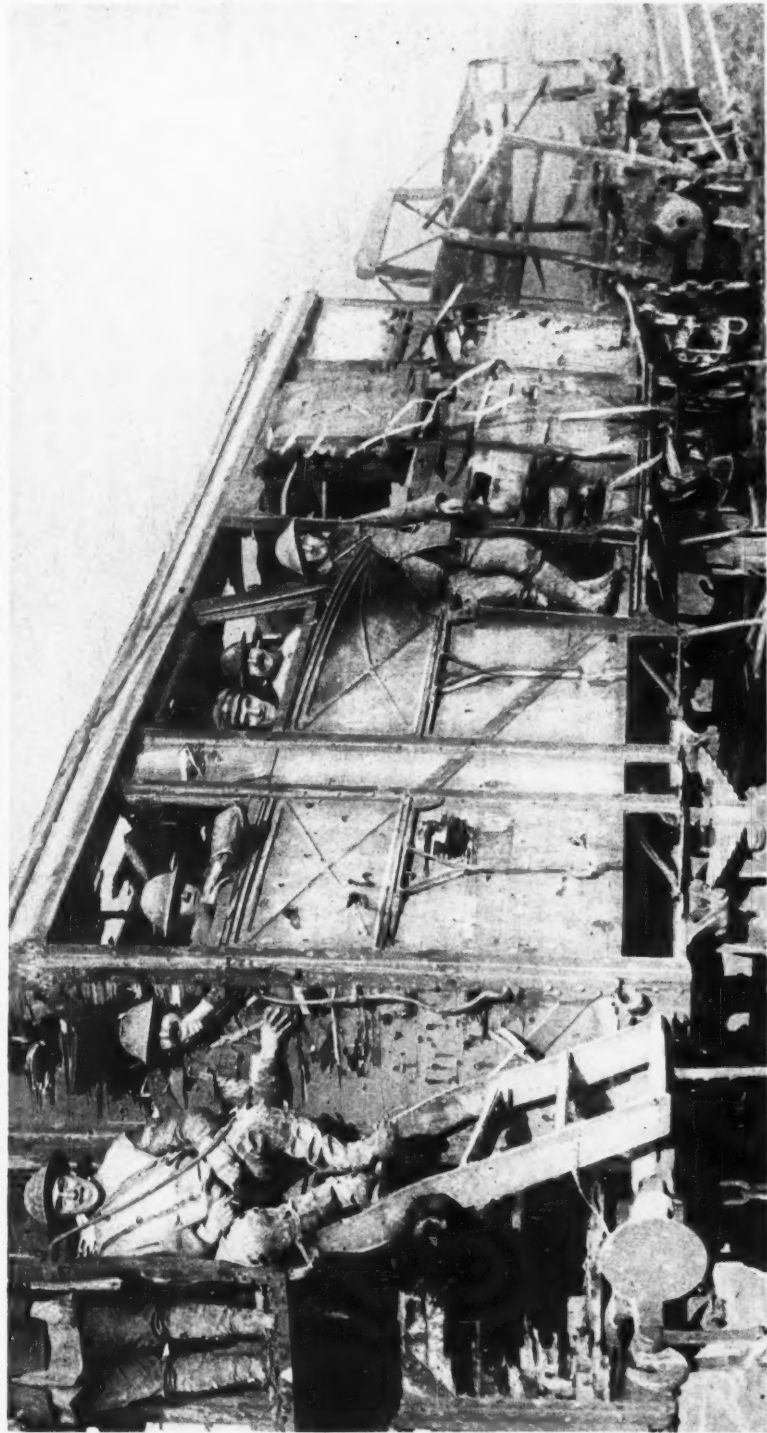
Several theories have been advanced as to the probable causes of the loss of the two British battle cruisers. It is also reported that both ships suffered heavy explosions which appeared to come up through turret tops. This has led to the opinion that enemy shells exploded in the respective turrets, and, igniting chains of

powder to the magazines, caused the blowing up of the magazines. This is not at all unlikely, and directs attention to the need of safety precautions in the supply of ammunition to turret guns. Still another theory is that these two ships were sunk either by mines or torpedoes; while a few credit the surmise that the explosions were of internal origin, either in turret or magazine, and having nothing to do with enemy fire.

There has been some comment in the press to the effect that Admiral Jellicoe may have violated the principle of concentration of forces by sending in advance a squadron of four battleships to support Admiral Beatty's battle cruisers. The consensus of professional opinion, however, does not appear to support any such criticism. This advance force was composed entirely of fast ships, (the battleships had the unusually high speed of 25 knots,) operating on interior lines between the supporting British fleet and the enemy main fleet, with little or no chance of being cut off by a superior enemy force.

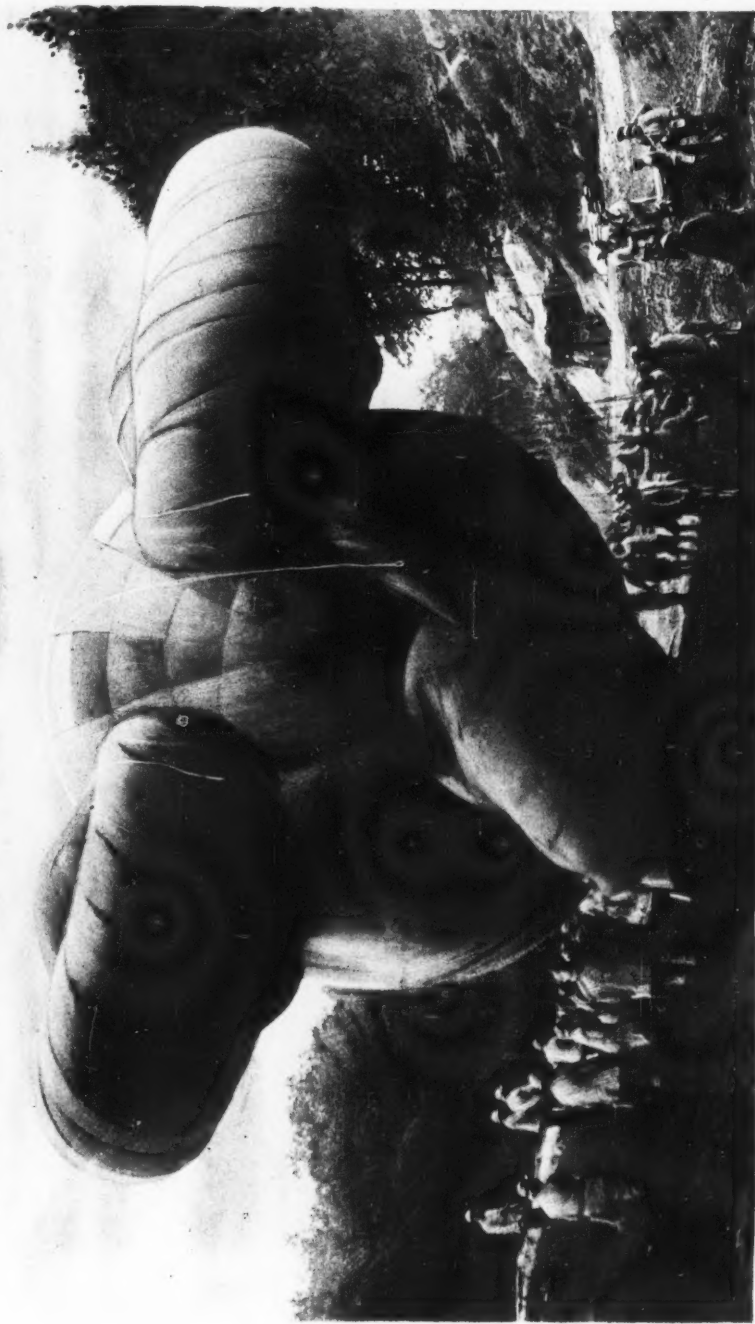
There is also more or less criticism to the effect that Admiral Beatty rashly exposed his command; that the Germans counted on his impetuosity; and that he did just what Admiral Hipper expected him to do and wanted him to do. On the other hand, it may be argued that at the start of the action the situation was not unfavorable to the British because Admiral Hipper was almost cut off by a superior force and in danger of being compelled to turn toward the British Grand Fleet. The plan of co-ordination between the main body under Admiral Jellicoe and the British advance force is not altogether clear, but it is evident that Admiral Beatty tried to get to the southward of Admiral Hipper, and upon the approach of the High Seas Fleet was compelled to make a right about turn, a manoeuvre likely to prove disastrous if attempted under gun fire. Reports are somewhat obscure as to just what happened at this time, but it seems that the British ships accomplished the turn without suffering much damage, and that the German battle cruisers turned around at about the same time. Perhaps the

CAUGHT IN HOSTILE GUNFIRE ON THE SOMME FRONT



All That Was Left of a Train of French Freight Cars Caught in an Artillery Duel Between the British and Germans During the Fighting Along the Ancre River.
(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

FRENCH OBSERVATION BALLOON PREPARING TO ASCEND



A Typical Example of the Many Great Balloons of the "Sausage" Type That Are in Constant Use on Both Sides for the Purpose of Watching the Enemy and Directing the Fire of Heavy Artillery.

(Photo Central News Service.)

battleships under Admiral Evan-Thomas were used to provide a covering fire while Admiral Beatty countermarched. Some incline to the opinion that Admiral Hipper failed to take advantage of his speed to draw ahead to a semi T-ing or capping position where he might have hammered Admiral Beatty's ships on the knuckle of their pivoting point without subjecting his own ships to anything worse than a long range fire from the 15-inch guns of the enemy battleships. It may be that the German battle cruisers did not have enough speed to do this, or it may be that Admiral Hipper was intent only on drawing the enemy into the fire of the approaching German battle fleet. At any rate, whatever the actual circumstances, neither side lost any ships at this time and the battle continued on northerly courses, beginning the second phase.

The Second Phase

Action Between British Advance Force of Battle Cruisers, Supported by Four Battleships, and German Battle Cruisers Supported by German High Seas Battle Fleet.

The Fifth Battle Squadron is reported to have closed the German battle cruisers on an opposite course, engaging them with all guns, when Admiral Beatty signalled Admiral Evan-Thomas the position of the German battle fleet and ordered him to alter course 16 points. At 4:57 the Fifth Battle Squadron fell into line behind the battle cruisers and came under the fire of the leading ships of the German battle fleet, which, in the meanwhile, had joined the line of battle in rear of Admiral Hipper's battle cruisers. The action continued at about 14,000 yards range on northwesterly courses curving north and then northeasterly. At 5:56 Admiral Beatty sighted the leading ships of the British Baltic battle fleet bearing north, distant five miles, and altered course to east, increasing speed to the

utmost, thereby reducing the range to 12,000 yards, and opening a gap between his battle cruisers and Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas's supporting battleships. The German van also turned eastward.

This completed the second phase of the battle, during which four British battle cruisers and four battleships were engaged for about one hour and a half with the van of the German fleet led by five battle cruisers followed by battleships of the Koenig class. Light cruisers and destroyers were also intermittently engaged during this phase and a few isolated but determined torpedo attacks were pushed home. These apparently met with little success, the attackers suffering severe punishment.

In this second phase, while at first glance it appears that four British battle cruisers supported by four battleships were engaging the entire German High Seas Fleet, such was not strictly speaking the case. The superior speed of the British squadrons enabled them to keep in the van, out of range of the enemy centre and rear. At this time the advantage of light was with the Germans, because the British ships had a sky brightened by the setting sun for background, while the German ships were more obscured in the mist by reason of their dark background. But the British Vice Admiral reports administering severe punishment to enemy ships during this phase. It is not clear whether the Germans turned to the eastward to avoid being capped or T-ed by the faster enemy ships, or whether they originated the easterly change of course because of the approaching British battle fleet, but this manoeuvre put the British fleet in a tactically favorable position for gun fire as well as ultimately placing them between the German fleet and its bases.

[The third and fourth phases of the battle of Jutland, with conclusions, will appear in April.]



British and German Naval Losses in the Present War

LESS than 50,000 tons is the difference between the British and German naval losses in the present war, probably not more than 27,000 tons, according to the 1917 issue of Jane's "Fighting Ships," a publication approved by the British Government. According to this publication, the British have lost nine battleships of a total tonnage of 127,500, three battle cruisers, 65,000; twelve armored cruisers, 143,600; seven light cruisers, 28,285, and torpedo boats and destroyers, 16,270, a total of 381,105 tons. This does not include submarines or mine sweepers, which probably would add from 10,000 to 20,000 to the total.

The German battleship losses are put at five ships, with the added statement that a sixth, a vessel of the Helgoland type, probably was lost also in the battle of Jutland. The total German losses are given as five battleships of a total of 104,300 tons, three battle cruisers, 72,400; six armored cruisers, 65,750; twenty light cruisers, 76,950; one unprotected cruiser, 1,600; four gunboats, 2,136; twelve destroyers, 6,000, and one 2,200-ton mine layer. The total German losses, exclusive of submarines and "a great many destroyers," figure up 331,336 tons, or 49,769 tons less than the British losses. If a second vessel of the Helgoland type was lost, as intimated, it would reduce the difference between the British and German losses to 26,969 tons.

Here are tables which give the losses of the British and German Navies, exclusive of auxiliary ships, as listed:

BRITISH LOSSES

BATTLESHIPS

Name	Tonnage	How Lost	Date
Bulwark	15,000	Explosion	..Nov., 1914
Formidable	15,000	Torpedoed	..Jan., 1915
Goliath	12,500	Torpedoed	..May, 1915
Irresistible	15,000	Mined	.....Mar., 1915
K. Edw'd VII.	16,350	Mined	.....Jan., 1916
Majestic	14,900	Torpedoed	..May, 1915
Ocean	12,950	Mined	.....Mar., 1915
Russell	14,000	Torpedoed	..Apr., 1916
Triumph	11,800	Torpedoed	..May, 1915

BATTLE CRUISERS

Indefatigable	18,750	In battle	...May, 1916
Invincible	17,250	In battle	...May, 1916
Queen Mary	27,000	In battle	...May, 1916

ARMORED CRUISERS

Name	Tonnage	How Lost	Date
Aboukir	12,000	Torpedoed	..Sept., 1914
Argyll	10,850	Wrecked	...Oct., 1915
Black Prince	13,550	In battle	...May, 1916
Cressy	12,000	Torpedoed	..Sept., 1914
Defence	14,600	In battle	...May, 1916
Good Hope	14,100	In battle	...May, 1916
Hawke	7,350	Torpedoed	..Oct., 1914
Hogue	12,000	Torpedoed	..Sept., 1914
Hampshire	10,850	Mined	.....Jun., 1916
Monmouth	9,800	In battle	...Nov, 1914
Natal	13,550	Explosion	..Dec., 1915
Warrior	13,550	In battle	...Jun., 1916

LIGHT CRUISERS

Amphion	3,440	Mined	.....Aug., 1914
Arethusa	3,520	Mined	.....Feb., 1916
Falmouth	5,250	Torpedoed	..Aug., 1916
Hermes	5,600	Torpedoed	..Oct., 1914
Nottingham	5,400	Torpedoed	..Aug., 1916
Pathfinder	2,940	Torpedoed	..Sept., 1914
Pegasus	2,135	In battle	..Sept., 1914

TORPEDO GUNBOATS

Niger	810	Torpedoed	..Nov., 1914
Speedy	810	Mined	.....Sept., 1914

DESTROYERS

Ardent	935	In battle	..May, 1916
Coquette	355	Mined	.....Mar., 1916
Eden	550	Collision	...Jun., 1916
Erne	550	Wrecked	..Mar., 1915
Fortune	935	In battle	...Jun., 1916
Lassoo	550	Torpedoed	..Aug., 1916
Louis	965	Wrecked	..Nov., 1915
Lynx	935	Mined	.....Aug., 1915
Maori	1,035	Mined	.....May, 1915
Nebusa	950	Collision	..Mar., 1916
Nestor	950	In battle	...Jun., 1916
Nomad	950	In battle	...Jun., 1916
Recruit	385	Torpedoed	..Jun., 1915
Shark	935	In battle	...Jun., 1916
Sparrowhawk	935	In battle	...Jun., 1916
Tipperary	1,430	In battle	...Jun., 1916
Turbulent	950	In battle	...Jun., 1916

TORPEDO BOATS

No. 10	225	Torpedoed	..Jun., 1915
No. 11	225	Mined	.....Mar., 1916
No. 12	225	Torpedoed	..Jun., 1915
No. 96	130	Collision	..Nov., 1915

SUBMARINES

AE-1	—	Foundered	..Sept., 1914
AE-2	—	Lost	.....Apr., 1915
D-2	—	Missing	.....
D-5	—	Mined	.....Nov., 1914
E-3	—	In battle	...Oct., 1914
E-7	—	Lost	.....Sept., 1915
E-10	—	Missing	.....
E-15	—	Torpedoed	..Apr., 1915
E-22	—	Wrecked	...Jan., 1916
E-17	—	Lost	.....Nov., 1915
E-20	—	Lost	.....Apr., 1916
—	—	Wrecked	..Jan., 1916

MINE SWEEPERS

Name	Tonnage	How Lost	Date
Arabis	—	..Gunfire	...Feb., 1916
Nasturtium ..	—	..Mined	...Apr., 1916
Primula	—	..Torpedoed	..Mar., 1916

GERMAN LOSSES

BATTLESHIPS (Dreadnoughts)

Name	Tonnage	How Lost	Date
1 Kaiser type..	24,700.	..In battle	...Jun., 1916
1 Kaiser type..	24,700.	..In battle	...Jun., 1916
1 Helgoland tp.	22,800.	..In battle	...Jun., 1916
Westfalen	18,900.	..In battle	...Jun., 1916

BATTLE CRUISERS

Lutzow	28,000.	..In battle	...Jun., 1916
Seydlitz	25,000.	..In battle	...Jun., 1916
Von der Tann..	19,400.	..Uncertain	..Dec., 1914

FREDREADNOUGHT

Pommern	13,200.	..In battle	...Jun., 1916
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LIGHT CRUISERS

Augsburg	4,300.	..In battle	...Jan., 1915
Ariadne	2,650.	..In battle	...Aug., 1914
Bremen	3,200.	..Torpedoed	..Dec., 1915
Dresden	3,600.	..In battle	..Mar., 1915
Elbing	4,500.	..Rammed	...Jun., 1916
Emden	3,600.	..In battle	...Nov., 1914
Frauenlob ...	2,700.	..Torpedoed	..Nov., 1915
Hela	2,000.	..Torpedoed	..Sept., 1914
Karlsruhe ...	4,900.	..Sunk	...Nov., 1914
Köln, (new)...	4,900.	..In battle	...Jun., 1916
Köln, (old)...	4,300.	..In battle	...Aug., 1914
Königsberg ...	3,500.	..In battle	...July, 1915
Leipzig	3,200.	..In battle	...Dec., 1914
Mainz, (new)..	4,900.	..In battle	...Jun., 1916
Mainz, (old)..	4,300.	..In battle	...Aug., 1914
Magdeburg ...	4,500.	..In battle	...Aug., 1914
Nürnberg	3,400.	..In battle	...Dec., 1914
Rostock	4,900.	..In battle	...Jun., 1916
Undine	2,700.	..Torpedoed	..Nov., 1915
Wiesbaden ...	4,900.	..In battle	...Jun., 1916

ARMORED CRUISERS

Blücher	15,500.	..In battle	...Jan., 1915
Friedrich Karl	9,000.	..Mined	...Dec., 1914
Gneisenau ...	11,000.	..In battle	...Dec., 1914
Prinz Adalbert	9,000.	..Torpedoed	..Oct., 1915
Scharnhorst ...	11,600.	..In battle	...Dec., 1914
Yorck	9,050.	..Mined	...Nov., 1914

UNPROTECTED CRUISER

Kormoran	1,600.	..Scuttled	...Nov., 1914
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GUNBOATS

Name	Tonnage	How Lost	Date
Ilitis	900.	..Scuttled	...Nov., 1914
Jaguar	900.	..Scuttled	...Nov., 1914
Tsing-tao	168.	..Interned	...—, 1914
Vaterland	168.	..Interned	...—, 1914

DESTROYERS

G-194	650.	..Rammed	...Mar., 1916
S-90	400.	..Wrecked	...Oct., 1914
S-115	420.	..In battle	...Oct., 1914
S-117	420.	..In battle	...Oct., 1914
S-118	420.	..In battle	...Oct., 1914
S-119	420.	..In battle	...Oct., 1914
S-124	420.	..Collision	...Nov., 1914
S-126	420.	..Torpedoed	..Oct., 1914
V-48	850.	..In battle	...Jun., 1916
V-187	650.	..In battle	...Aug., 1914
V-188	650.	..Torpedoed	...July, 1915
Taku	280.	..Scuttled	...Nov., 1914

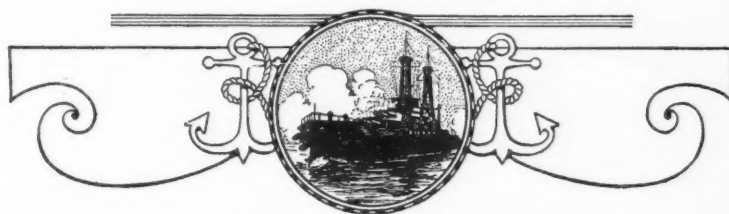
Note.—Jane's says that a "great many destroyers" of the same class as the V-48 were sunk in the battle of Jutland, and that their name numbers have not been established by the British Admiralty.

MINE LAYER

Albatross	2,200.	..By gunfire	..July, 1915
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"The number of German submarines lost," Jane's says, "is very large indeed; but precise information cannot be obtained at present, and any attempt at a detailed list, owing to duplication of numbers, &c., would be more or less misleading. U-29, U-27, U-18, U-15, U-14, U-12, U-8, (two of this number,) and UC-5 are among those about whose fate definite particulars have been published.

"We may be allowed to say," the publishers state in a preface, "that a new navy has been added to the British fleet of 1914, which in rate of construction, power of design, and novelty of type far surpasses anything that could have been deemed possible two years ago."



A Lincoln Day Message

By David Lloyd George
Prime Minister of Great Britain

[An address to the American people in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday, given to THE NEW YORK TIMES for publication Feb. 12, 1917]

I AM very glad to respond to your request for a message for publication on Lincoln Day. I am glad, because to my mind Abraham Lincoln has always been one of the very first of the world's statesmen, because I believe that the battle which we have been fighting is at bottom the same battle which your countrymen fought under Lincoln's leadership more than fifty years ago, and, most of all, perhaps, because I desire to say how much I welcome the proof which the last few days have afforded that the American people are coming to realize this, too.

Lincoln's life was devoted to the cause of human freedom. From the day when he first recognized what slavery meant he bent all his energies to its eradication from American soil. Yet after years of patient effort he was driven to realize that it was not a mere question of abolishing slavery in the Southern States, but that bound up with it was a larger issue—that unless the Union abolished slavery, slavery would break up the Union.

Faced by this alternative, he did not shrink, after every other method had failed, from vindicating both Union and freedom by the terrible instrument of war. Nor after the die for war had been cast did he hesitate to call upon his countrymen to make sacrifice upon sacrifice, to submit to limitation upon limitation of their personal freedom, until, in his own words, there was a new birth of freedom in your land.

Is there not a strange similarity between this battle, which we are fighting here in Europe, and that which Lincoln fought? Has there not grown up in this Continent a new form of slavery, a militarist slavery, which has not only been crushing out the freedom of the people under its control, but which in recent years has also been moving toward

crushing out freedom and fraternity in all Europe as well?

Is it not true that it is to the militarist system of government which centres in Berlin that every open-minded man who is familiar with past history would point as being the ultimate source of all the expansion of armaments, of all the international unrest, and of the failure of all movements toward co-operation and harmony among nations during the last twenty years?

We were reluctant, and many of us refused to believe that any sane rulers would deliberately drench Europe in its own blood, so we did not face the facts until it was almost too late. It was not until August, 1914, that it became clear to us, as it became clear to Lincoln in 1861, that the issue was not to be settled by pacific means, and that either the machine which controlled the destinies of Germany would destroy the liberty of Europe or the people of Europe must defeat its purpose and its prestige by the supreme sacrifice of war. It was the ultimatum to Serbia and the ruthless attack upon Belgium and France which followed because the nations of Europe would not tolerate the obliteration of the independence of a free people without conference and by the sword, which revealed to us all the implacable nature of the struggle which lay before us.

It has been difficult for a nation separated from Europe by 3,000 miles of sea and without political connections with its peoples to appreciate fully what was at stake in the war. In your civil war many of our ancestors were blind. Lord Russell hinted at an early peace. Even Gladstone declared "we have no faith in the propagation of free institutions at the point of the sword." It was left for John Bright, that man of all others who most loved peace and hated war, to testify that

when our statesmen "were hostile or coldly neutral the British people clung to freedom with an unflinching trust." But I think that America now sees that it is human unity and freedom which are again being fought for in this war.

The American people under Lincoln fought not a war of conquest, but a war of liberation. We today are fighting not a war of conquest, but a war of liberation—a liberation not of ourselves alone, but of all the world, from that body of barbarous doctrine and inhuman practice which has estranged nations, has held back the unity and progress of the world, and which has stood revealed in all its deadly iniquity in the course of this war.

In such wars for liberty there can be no compromise. They are either won or lost. In your case it was freedom and unity or slavery and separation. In our case military power, tyrannously used, will have succeeded in tearing up treaties and trampling on the rights of others, or liberty and public right will have prevailed. Therefore, we believe that the war must be fought out to a finish, for on such an issue there can be no such thing as a drawn war.

In holding this conviction, we have been inspired and strengthened beyond measure by the example and the words of your great President. Once the conflict had been joined, he did not shrink from bloodshed. I have often been struck at the growth of both tenderness and stern determination in the face of Lincoln, as shown in his photographs, as the war went on.

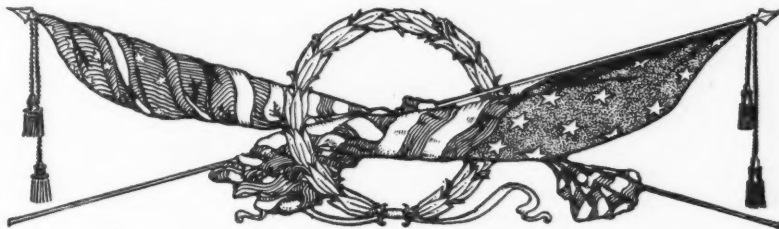
Despite his abhorrence of all that war entailed, he persisted in it because he

knew that he was sparing life by losing it, that if he agreed to compromise, the blood that had been shed on a hundred fields would have been shed in vain, that the task of creating a united nation of free men would only have to be undertaken at even greater cost at some later day. It would, indeed, be impossible to state our faith more clearly than Lincoln stated it himself at the end of 1864:

On careful consideration [he said] of all the evidence it seems to me that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader could result in any good. He would accept nothing short of severance of the Union, precisely what we will not and can not give. His declarations to this effect are explicit and oft repeated. He does not deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves; * * * between him and us the issue is distinct, simple, and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war and decided by victory.

That was the judgment of the greatest statesman of the nineteenth century during the last great war for human liberty. It is the judgment of this nation and of its fellow-nations overseas today.

"Our armies," said Lincoln, "are ministers of good, not evil." So we do believe. And through all the carnage and suffering and conflicting motives of the civil war Lincoln held steadfastly to the belief that it was the freedom of the people to govern themselves which was the fundamental issue at stake. So do we today. For when the people of Central Europe accept the peace which is offered them by the Allies, not only will the allied peoples be free, as they have never been free before, but the German people, too, will find that in losing their dream of an empire over others they have found self-government for themselves.



Famine: The Foe Dreaded by All

New Aspects of the Food Problem in Each of the Belligerent Countries

THE strategy of starvation has been resorted to in the present war on a scale altogether unprecedented.

In former days it was common enough for a besieging army to starve a city into submission. Today we have the spectacle of great nations attempting to isolate extensive territories and large populations, to enlist hunger as an ally and force a famished enemy to sue for peace. The countries suffering most severely at present are Germany and Austria-Hungary, whose sea-borne supplies of food have been cut off by the British blockade. This, in turn, accounts for the desperate measures of retaliation by submarine warfare which Germany instituted on a larger scale on Feb. 1, 1917, aiming particularly at Great Britain, her most vulnerable enemy in regard to dependence on outside sources of supply. Neither of these two countries produces all the food it requires at the best of times, and so the problem of shortage and the measures taken to deal with it are best studied in Germany and England.

Briefly, it may be said that, while the Central Empires are already in a bad way, Great Britain can feel the pinch only in case the German submarine blockade is thoroughly successful. France is apparently in no danger. Russia has plenty of food, but railroad disorganization and a chaotic system of distribution are responsible for a shortage in the towns. Other belligerents are, for the most part, affected rather by general world conditions. The average of the last world crop was poor; shipping facilities are insufficient; and the cost of living has increased everywhere. On the other hand, some of the neutral countries close to the zones of war are suffering more than some of the belligerents. Denmark, for instance, has had to adopt an extremely rigorous system of food control.

The food position in Germany is an all-important factor in the prolongation of the war. Whether there is yet downright starvation is a disputed question. That a serious shortage exists is, however, undoubted, and this shortage is increasing at such rate that some observers believe Germany will be without food altogether before the next harvest can be gathered, predicting that famine will surely come in the Spring. Before the war Germany was able to produce at the most only four-fifths of the food required for the nation's wants. Since the war that proportion has decreased. The army has diminished the effective labor force of agriculture, and the blockade, in addition to preventing the importation of foodstuffs, has cut off important supplies required for the production of home-grown food, such as fodder for cattle and the fertilizers by which German farming had attained its high standard of intensive cultivation.

Germany's Food Shortage

In an economic situation like this one trouble leads to another. For instance, the grain shortage has led to restricted brewing, but stock raising is aided by valuable by-products of the breweries, the deficiency in which reacts on the supply of meat, milk, butter, and cheese. In the early part of the war serious mistakes were made in permitting too many animals, especially pigs, to be killed for meat, and it is now admitted in Germany that it will be a considerable time after the war before restocking can be complete. Allowing for all the different factors, we are probably very near the mark in calculating that Germany is now unable to produce or obtain more than half the food her people require.

Government control and regulation have played a great part in Germany's efforts to cope with the food problem; and though organization and efficiency

have been remarkable features of Germany's general conduct of the war, there have been some blunders in food policy which have caused much dissatisfaction among the people. When the outbreak of war cut off Russian and overseas supplies it seems obvious—at least it does now—that the right thing to have done was to increase the amount of home-grown food and prevent waste. But the problem was not tackled from the standpoint of production, but from that of the consumer, who was aware of only one fact, that prices were rising. Thus, the first step to deal with the shortage of food was not to increase production, but to try to enforce regulations to keep down prices. And on these lines the authorities initiated a system of food control.

The original decentralized method of regulation through the municipalities was a failure, and in January, 1915, a vast central organization to control grain supplies was set up; but it, too, was a failure, and was abandoned after six months' trial. Then the country was partitioned into a number of large self-governing areas, with the Government still fixing grain prices for the whole empire. The prices of practically all food commodities were now regulated. But the system was fundamentally unsound, because if prices were low supplies were held back, despite the threats of heavy penalties, while if prices were high supplies went anywhere but where they were most needed. In short, the Government did not, or could not, see that under existing economic conditions, even in time of war, the law of supply and demand must prevail.

Finally, in December, 1916, Adolph von Batocki, the food "dictator," publicly admitted that the fixing of maximum prices was a failure. "The attempts to make food stuffs accessible to the poorer classes by means of maximum prices have collapsed," he declared. "Maximum prices without the simultaneous public administration of supplies only keeps the produce away from the towns and industrial centres, leaving it entirely in the hands of the producers or of consumers in the vicinity." It was at last seen that high prices, however great the hardships

they inflict, prevent waste and encourage production, while the attempt to keep prices down by law induces overconsumption and discourages production. There was only one way to cope with the problem in radical fashion, namely, the nationalization of the whole agricultural industry itself, but that a Government dominated by junkers was not likely to undertake.

Protests of Town Populations

Evidence from a number of sources shows that the food shortage has inflicted practically all its hardships on the poorer classes in the towns. Everything that is most objectionable in German rule is due to the power of the junkers, or agrarian interests. Herr von Batocki has been unable to resist their influence, and hence the failure of his plans. The people on the land have all the food they want, and so have the classes that are making profits out of the war, for they can pay prices which are prohibitive to the workingman.

On the same day (Dec. 12, 1916) that Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg announced that the Central Powers were ready to begin peace negotiations a trade union convention representing four million workers was held in Berlin. It declared that it would support the Government's policy, but at the same time it emphatically demanded that drastic measures be taken to release the supplies of food being held up by the agrarian interests and speculators and to provide that the workers obtain enough nourishment to enable them to perform their duties. "There must be," said Deputy Karl Legien, head of the German trade union federation, "a sharper grip on those circles which do not understand the times and which selfishly hold back the necessary food from the people, and so injure the nation." Six weeks later (in January, 1917) a committee representing the whole organized labor movement of Germany addressed a letter to the Imperial Chancellor indorsing his peace policy and promising support for all measures designed to achieve a victorious peace, but also repeating the demand for an overhauling of the system of food distribu-

tion. If the distribution were just, the letter said, then any want or privation would "be easily borne with the knowledge that all classes of the German people are sharing equally."

Herr von Batocki himself complained on Jan. 23, 1917, after a two days' session of the Advisory Committee of the War Food Bureau, that the situation was aggravated by the wealthier classes buying underhand at fancy prices what they wanted, and thus thwarting the work of the Food Regulation Board. He also admitted that there was a shortage in the potato crop, "enhanced by transportation troubles," and that, although the grain crop of 1916 had been better than that of 1915, the total nutritive value of the combined grain and potato supplies for the present year was less, and, further, that economical feeding was necessary to carry the population through to the next harvest. This was despite the grain said to have been obtained in Rumania. The milk shortage was due to inadequate supplies of fodder and increased consumption of milk in the country districts.

An Ominous Situation

The summary of Herr von Batocki's statement cabled from Berlin contains quite enough to show that a famine in Germany is far from being a remote possibility. Other sources of information make the situation look equally ominous. It is said that the workers do not get the additional ration ordered by Herr von Batocki, and that they lose hours which should be spent in rest while they wait, tired and hungry, outside the public kitchens for food they are not certain of receiving. There is no enthusiasm, no spirit, among the mass of the people today, but everywhere only gloom and silence, and even mutual distrust. The situation is indicated by such a leading German newspaper as the Berliner Tageblatt, which gives the following list of food allowances:

Potatoes—Original rations of one and one-half pounds a day reduced on Jan. 1 to three-quarters of a pound a day.

Meat—Ration reduced to less than half a pound on meat days.

Butter—A trifle over two ounces a week.

Milk—Extremely scarce and price rising.

The Government has been forced to make war allowances to persons with an income of \$1,125. Originally aid was extended only to those whose incomes were \$525.

The Tageblatt then goes on to say:

After the experience of six months it is hardly possible to imagine that the War Nutrition Office is capable of performing its task any better in the future than in the past.

Shall one point to the fact that the potato rations, which originally were intended to be one and one-half pounds a day, have already been reduced in Berlin to six pounds a week, and that a general reduction of the daily ration to three-fourths pound will take place on Jan. 1?

Is one to call attention to the disturbing fact that at present even the bread ration of 1,900 grams (about four pounds) a week can in many cases only be obtained with difficulty?

Is it possible to overlook the inadequate supply of meat for the people?

Again and again the hope that the meat ration could be increased has been disappointed, although game, and to some extent poultry, can now only be obtained by ticket. Why, in many places one can no longer obtain even 250 grams (about one-half pound) of meat, but only 200 grams or less.

If one is lucky, one gets sixty grams (a little more than two ounces) of butter a week. For months past cheese has become something almost unknown for the mass of the people. Milk is supplied at best only to little children and sick persons.

Every now and then the War Nutrition Office issues a consoling communication, but generally the words are not followed by deeds. On the other hand, it is one's almost daily experience that foodstuffs which hitherto could be obtained have vanished from the market. And all that can still be bought costs impossible prices.

Further evidence may be quoted from The London Times, which prints two letters from "the neutral whose observations have proved so accurate in the past." In the first letter, dated Jan. 12, 1917, this observer writes:

I always have, as you know, warned the Allies against overoptimism regarding the economic situation in Germany, but there really does not seem to be much need of a warning now. It is not only my impression, but that of my German friends who are in a position to know the facts as to the food supply, that Germany is faced by the prospect of being unable to continue the struggle unless she really raids Denmark or Holland, or both, for meat, corn, butter, and oil.

Let me say first that throughout my tour I have not heard of any actual starvation. Every baby, at any rate, every baby under 2

years of age, gets sufficient milk except in the principal munitions areas, where so much of the milk from the surrounding districts is converted into glycerine. Invalids are suffering, but those who have money can on medical certificates obtain permission to go to Switzerland, Holland, or Denmark, for fixed periods, but the rich do not really suffer at all.

The condition of the general population, especially in the towns, large and small, is deplorable. There is a great deal of complaining and of late disputes between various authorities and between the authorities of the various States have increased in intensity. There also is great bitterness as between the country and the towns.

In his second letter the neutral observer writes:

The problem that is worrying the German administration at the present time is, How can Germany exist until the next harvest?

Everybody is now counting on early vegetables. In my judgment, the whole question of the ability of Germany "to hold out," to use the expression which is still in every German mouth, is the question whether the Germans can live on these vegetables, together with such supplies of meat, game, fresh-water fish, and imported fish as will be available until the end of August.

The unfortunate Herr von Batocki and his hundreds of advisers and assistants in various parts of Germany know very well that there are no reserves of food in the country.

Even the Conservative leader, Dr. von Heydebrand, came out as a vigorous critic of the Imperial Government during a debate in the Prussian Diet on Jan. 18, 1917, incidentally confirming statements that have been made abroad regarding Germany's present plight. "Our economic situation," he said, "is rich in deprivations and sacrifices. We may calmly state this, because it is known abroad what we are now compelled to demand from our population. The rural population is not yet imbued with the consciousness of the needs of this great time. The town populations are suffering grievously. It is sad to see how long women have to wait for a couple of potatoes and how for the simplest of necessities town dwellers must pay absolutely exorbitant prices."

Suffering in Austria-Hungary

The position in Austria and Hungary is also very serious. The crowning of the new Austrian Emperor as King of Hungary at Budapest was an occasion throwing into sharp relief the misery of

the people. While the ancient ceremony, with its pomp and splendor, was proceeding women were fighting for food in the market place of the city. Baron Kutry, the Hungarian Food Controller, recently made the following statement, according to the Budapest Hirlap:

The first requisition for corn has not met with the hoped-for success, and a second requisition therefore is necessary, far more severe than the first. The known stock and that which is at our disposal together represent only one-seventh of the needs of the whole country and army until Aug. 15, 1917. What is lacking must be found and we have only two means of making good the deficit—requisition and importation from Rumania. We hope that part of the Rumanian grain will be allotted to us, but it is still too early to speak of that.

The truth is, Germany is not so much in need of food and cereals as we are, and even Austria is in a better position. With us the distribution of food has been unsystematic from the beginning and no improvement has taken place. Appearances resulting from this lack of organization give the impression of an excellent position, not necessitating food tickets, as in Germany and Austria. We are not, however, in a better position. We are merely not organized. Henceforth Austria cannot receive even a grain of corn from us.

As regards the discrepancy between the available stock and our needs, we hope this will be passably reduced as the result of severe requisition. As a matter of fact, the right of searching private houses has been conferred on the authorities and will not be without success.

The potato crop, Baron Kutry added, had unfortunately been very bad and would not last very long. The people would therefore have to go without potatoes until the next crop. The supplies of sugar were nearly exhausted, and from Jan. 8, 1917, bread would have to contain 10 per cent. of cornmeal. The Baron's concluding statement caused a sensation in Hungary. "These measures," he said, "must continue even after the war, for it will be absolutely necessary—and that for many months—that every citizen impose upon himself the strictest economies, so as to prevent the country being invaded by famine. Our people must understand this grave situation and submit to the most rigorous restrictions in everything that concerns the supply of food."

Austria also claims to be the worst sufferer from the shortage of food. A dispatch from Vienna, dated Jan. 4, 1917,

reports the Burgomaster of that city as threatening to resign if Hungary refused to send food to Vienna. "The prisons are filled," he said, "with women and children convicted of having stolen food, while housewives are afraid to go shopping for food, even in the principal streets, owing to robberies and assaults." A few days later the Vienna *Arbiter Zeitung* published a pathetic letter to the Burgomaster from the wives of the city street car employees who are serving with the army. "We are in a deplorable condition," the women said; "our distress is frightful and our children are pining away." The letter then declared that, despite the increased salaries which the employees who were not at the front were receiving, they were starving. "How, then, with us poor creatures with our half pay? Our wretchedness is great. On our knees we entreat your Excellency to have compassion and grant us full pay. Do not abandon us. Take pity on our children."

Bulgaria is also in want of food, but the shortage is not as bad as in Germany or Austria-Hungary. Bread and sugar tickets, days without meat, and the absence of various articles of diet are to be noted, and with this condition a desire for peace, now that Macedonia has been won back.

Situation in Great Britain

Among the Allies, Great Britain is most concerned about food supplies. Never producing more than a small proportion of its own food, it has been only the command of the seas that has saved England from starving. The Asquith administration had already decided upon a food dictatorship, and when Lloyd George became Prime Minister he included in his Ministry Lord Devonport as Food Controller, while the new Minister of Agriculture, Rowland E. Prothero, was chosen for the purpose of increasing the production of home-grown food.

Although many ships with supplies of food have been sunk, Great Britain still has plenty to eat. Nor is the new German submarine campaign likely to bring the country within measurable distance of starvation. Nevertheless, the British

Government is taking no chances. Land that has gone out of cultivation is to be reconquered by the plow. Farmers are to be encouraged to increase their output of foodstuffs, although they are protesting that the prices fixed by the Government are no inducement and will involve them in losses. In an address to the Herefordshire farmers, Mr. Prothero admitted that high prices were a stimulus to production, for they meant good profits, but they fell with undue severity on the poor. If prices went too high, he warned them, the Food Controller would commandeer the produce at prices he thought fit.

The Food Controller has already taken steps to put his words into effect. His plans go a long way beyond mere price fixing. He has secured new powers for the Board of Agriculture, whereby it may take possession of any land it wants and cultivate it, and also all the necessary buildings, machinery, implements, and stock, if farmers do not fall in with the Government's ideas. Great Britain has been able to proceed in this radical fashion mainly because British farmers are not as powerful as the German agrarian interests. The British Food Controller's powers are practically unlimited, for he can regulate production, consumption, transport, and prices as he thinks fit "for the purpose of encouraging or maintaining" the food supply of the country.

One of the new measures is the order, which came into force on Dec. 18, 1916, restricting the number of courses to be served at hotels and restaurants. Luncheon is to be limited to two and dinner or supper to three courses. But hors d'oeuvres, soup and dessert count only as half a course each. That the order is being enforced is shown in the following typical newspaper report:

At Exeter Police Court on Jan. 12 Michael Healey, landlord of the New London Hotel, was summoned under the Defense of the Realm Regulations for having served meals of more than three courses, the meals having been begun between 6 and 9:30 P. M. There were two separate summonses. The Bench dismissed the first on payment of the costs, and in the second imposed a fine of 10s. and costs.

These regulations apply only to public

eating places. Another important change is the reduction of the beer supply to half of what it was in the year preceding the war. "The barley, sugar, and other ingredients used in brewing are required for food," was the Food Controller's explanation. "In fact, it is really a question of bread versus beer." Restrictions are to be placed upon other alcoholic liquors. These measures, it is said, will do away with the necessity of either State purchase or nation-wide prohibition, at any rate in the near future. The fixing of food prices is already in operation, and now the placing of the people on rations is contemplated.

British shipping is also under the control of a Government dictator, and from Jan. 1, 1917, all ships from America have to reserve 37 per cent. of their cargo space for wheat. This does not indicate the full extent of Great Britain's dependence on outside sources of supply, for the whole of the Australian wheat surplus is being sent to England, which, as the Agriculture Minister has recently said, cannot grow half enough wheat for its wants. It can be seen, then, what Germany hopes to achieve by waging a relentless submarine campaign against ships bound for British ports.

No Food Shortage in France

France, although her economic life has been seriously affected, is the belligerent country where the necessities of life have remained cheapest and the feeding of the people been best assured. The portion of the rich and fertile land occupied by the Germans is valuable mainly on account of its mineral wealth. Good administration has aided the fecund soil and skillful husbandry to solve the food problem, and so the price of bread has hardly increased. Before the end of August, 1914, the Government had entered into co-operation with Chambers of Commerce throughout France to enable them to buy wheat, flour, and other necessities which were to be supplied to the local dealers and municipal authorities. In April, 1915, when the price of wheat had increased nearly 50 per cent. and there was an undoubted shortage in the home-grown supply, the Government de-

cided to become the sole importer of wheat. Arrangements with Great Britain and the organization of transportation facilities produced supplies of wheat and flour wherever required, and the price of bread remained at a reasonable price—almost at the pre-war level.

Sugar presented greater difficulties. In fact, this has been practically the only food commodity the shortage of which has been severely felt in France. Home-grown sugar came principally from the departments invaded by the Germans, and the supply at once fell from 800,000 to 300,000 metric tons. Of this amount about 650,000 metric tons was consumed in France, so that a deficiency of 350,000 metric tons had to be made good. It was met partly by augmenting the cultivation of sugar in France, and early in 1916 by an arrangement with England for the purchase of foreign supplies. Nevertheless, prices are high, and the people have to economize in the consumption of what sugar they can get. In January, 1917, the Government decided to introduce sugar cards and after Feb. 1 compel "pâtisseries" and others who make or sell cakes and candies to close their establishments two days a week. But, on the whole, France remains well fed, and for her the new strategy of starvation will have few terrors.

Before the war Russia exported annually more than a million and a half tons of wheat to Germany. Since the war an enormous surplus has accumulated because of the insufficient means of both internal and external transportation and because of the closing of the gateway at the Dardanelles. The workers in the Russian towns are suffering most from food troubles, for not only is the railroad system inadequate and disorganized but there is no efficient Governmental machinery for distribution. The war has been beneficial to the peasants, who are receiving double the ordinary price for their produce, and of course they have all the food they want for their own needs.

To sum up, the war may now be regarded as a contest between Germany and Great Britain to starve one another by their respective blockades into accepting peace.

German Intrigues in Russia

Paul Milyukov's Historic Speech in the Duma, Which Caused a Change of Ministry

Professor Milyukov, leader of the Constitutional Democrats in the Russian Duma, delivered an address before that body last November, in which he exposed the schemes of Premier Stürmer for a separate peace with Germany, after the Premier had taken over Sazonoff's portfolio as Foreign Minister. The exposure caused the downfall of Stürmer and a temporary setback to the "dark forces" of pro-Germanism in Russian politics; but it also led to an elaborate plot to assassinate Milyukov and to hostility in high places which compelled the latter to take refuge one night in the British Legation at Petrograd and escape from Russia the next day. His speech was suppressed at first, but after the resignation of M. Stürmer it was permitted to appear in the newspapers with some omissions. The essential portions of his indictment, which produced a profound impression in the Russian political world, are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

Beginning with the case of General Sukhomlinoff and a vigorous criticism of the negligence and inertness of the former War Ministry, which had such painful results in the defeats of the Russian Army in 1915, the speaker turned his attention to the German intrigues in Russia:

GENTLEMEN, in the French Yellow Book there have been published German documents containing rules and advice as to the best method of disorganizing enemy countries, of creating disorder among their people, and throwing men's minds into a ferment. Well, gentlemen, if the Germans wished to spend all their money and exert all their influence in Russia for that purpose, they could not succeed better than the Russian Government has succeeded. * * *

As long ago as July 13, 1916, I warned you from this tribune that rumors of treason were running through the Russian world, and that these rumors, mounting very high, spared no one. Alas! that warning, like the others, was not regarded. Now see the result: Glancing through the declaration of the twenty-eight Zemstvo Presidents who met at Moscow on Oct. 29, 1916, we find the following passage: "The painful and terrifying suspicions, the sinister rumors of treason, of dark forces that are working for Germany by trying to create a favorable sentiment for a shameful peace at the price of the destruction of our national unity—all these rumors and suspicions are trans-

formed into this certainty: an enemy hand is secretly directing the affairs of the nation!" Naturally, these rumors attribute to the Government the opinion that the continuation of the war is useless, and that a separate peace is necessary. But how shall the birth of such suspicions be prevented when a group of occult personages directs the affairs of State, and when its members at the same time are busying themselves with affairs of basest self-interest?

A Suspected Agent

I hold in my hands a copy of the Berliner Tageblatt for Sept. 16, which contains an article entitled "Manouiloff * * * (Censured.) Stürmer * * * (Censured.) * * *" This information is false in part. The author of the article has the air of believing that it was Stürmer who put his private secretary, Manasevitch Manouiloff, under arrest. But, gentlemen, you are well aware that this is not true; you know that all those who caused the arrest of Manasevitch without informing Stürmer were expelled from office. No; it was not Stürmer who had Manasevitch arrested; quite to the contrary, he had him liberated. [Wild applause from the Left, with voices, "That's correct!"]

You are wondering, no doubt, who this Manasevitch Manouiloff is? Of what interest is he to us? Manasevitch Manouiloff is a former functionary of the secret Russian police in Paris, who, in his day, furnished the Novoye Vremya with

piquant details concerning the lives of Russian revolutionists. But what is more interesting to us is that he was at the same time intrusted with secret missions. One of these will interest you particularly. A few years ago this Manasevitch entered into a series of secret conferences with the Count of Pourtalès, the German Ambassador, and the latter offered him a large sum, said to be 800,000 rubles, to buy up the editors of the *Novoye Vremya*. I am happy to add that a staff writer on that journal, to whom Manasevitch was first sent, drove him from his apartment. The Count of Pourtalès had a deal of difficulty in hushing up that disagreeable affair.

Such are the missions, gentlemen, with which the private secretary of M. Stürmer, Minister of Foreign Affairs, is intrusted. [Commotion, with cries of "Shame!"] Why was that individual arrested? The reason has long been known, and I shall tell you nothing new. He was arrested because he was guilty of accepting bribes. Why was he released? That also is no secret. He declared to the examining Magistrate that he divided the proceeds of that bribery. * * * [All deleted by the censor except the names of Manouiloff and Stürmer.] The article in the *Berliner Tageblatt* mentions two other names: those of Prince Andronikoff and the Metropolitan, Pitirim. To the influence of the latter and of * * * is attributed the nomination of Stürmer.

Stürmer and the German Press

Permit me a few details regarding that nomination. I was abroad when I first heard of it; it is mingled, therefore, with my impressions of travel. I will tell you quite simply what I learned along the way, and you may draw your own conclusions. Scarcely had I left this country—it was a few days after the resignation of Sazonoff—when the Swedish newspapers, and later those of Germany and Austria, informed me of the choice of Stürmer as Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Here is what the newspapers said—I am going to read a few extracts without comment. From the *Berliner Tageblatt*:

The personality of Sazonoff gave the Allies a guarantee of stability in matters of foreign policy. In that domain Stürmer is only a "sheet of blank paper." He belongs doubtless to the circles which regard the war against Germany without any enthusiasm.

From the Cologne Gazette:

We Germans have no reason to complain of the change that has taken place in the heart of the Russian Government. Stürmer will offer no obstacle to the desire for peace which from now onward will be born in Russia.

From the Neues Tageblatt of Vienna:

Although it is not now the turn of the diplomats to speak, it is comforting to note that the statesman upon whom lies the burden of having begun the hostilities is retiring.

An editorial in the *Neue Freie Presse* for July 25 is especially interesting in this connection. This is what it says:

However Russified old Stürmer may be, [Laughter,] it is nevertheless very strange to see a German directing Russia's foreign policy during a war that had its birth "in the domain of Pan-Slavic ideas." [Sic.] The present President of the Council of Ministers, M. Stürmer, has not shared the errors which brought about the war. He has not promised—do not forget that, gentlemen—he has not promised not to make peace without Constantinople and the Dardanelles. In the personality of this Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs we shall find an arm which we can use at our own will; for Stürmer has become a man who satisfies the secret aspirations of the Right, which, before all, desires no alliance with England. He will not declare, as did Sazonoff, that it is necessary to annihilate the Prussian military caste.

Whence arises this certainty of the German and Austrian journals that Stürmer, in executing the will of the conservatives, will act against the continuation of the war? It comes from the information furnished them by the Russian press, for the newspapers of Moscow have published the memorandum of the Extreme Right.

This memorandum sent to the Imperial Great Headquarters in July, just before Stürmer went there the second time, does indeed say that it is necessary to fight until final victory, but it also declares that it is necessary to end the war sometimes, otherwise the fruits of victory "will be destroyed by revolution!" There you have the old, well-known thesis of our pro-Germans. * * *

The Allies have given proof in this

struggle that they have admirable perseverance; they have proved also that they were ready for any sacrifice. In this regard they have disappointed the expectations of the enemy and surpassed our own. It appeared to us then that Russia was approaching the realization of its hopes, that it was on the point of reaping the fruits of its labors and of the two preceding Ministries of Foreign Affairs. But at that moment, gentlemen, in place of an experienced pilot enjoying the confidence of all—for this is vital—in that place we find a "sheet of blank paper," an unknown who does not even know the A B C of diplomacy.

[Here M. Milyukov pronounced a eulogium upon M. Sazonoff, and continued:]

Relations that have existed for ten years doubtless cannot be destroyed by the caprice of a single person, and the allied press, like ours, had reason to affirm that the change of Ministry could not in any way transform the policy of Russia. But in a thing so delicate as diplomacy there are nuances; there is such a thing as embroidery, lace, delicate drapery, and there is also common sewing; the making of lace is possible only in certain circumstances, under favorable conditions. Well, gentlemen, I have seen the destruction of the most delicate fibres in the embroidery woven by the Allies. I have seen that destruction at London, at Paris. That is what Stürmer was, and perhaps he had a reason of his own for promising us Constantinople and the Dardanelles.

Intrigues in Switzerland

I then asked myself, By what arrangement is all this coming to pass? I went to Switzerland to rest a little, but the same obsessions pursued me. Even on the shores of Lake Geneva and at Berne I could feel the activities of the old "department" of Stürmer, that of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Police. No doubt Switzerland is a place where every possible propaganda springs up; for that reason it is a good observation post, where one can follow the trail of our enemies' diplomacy. The system of "special missions" also is particularly well

developed there. But under cover of these latter appear missions of a peculiar sort. Men said to me: Please ask yonder in Petrograd what the celebrated Rataieff, a former functionary of the Russian secret police at Paris, is doing here in Switzerland. Ask, too, why Ladebeff, an agent of the Russian secret police, has just arrived here; and why that functionary frequents the drawing rooms of certain Russian women who are known for their German sympathies.

One sees that Mme. Wasiltchikoff has her partisans and imitators. I limit myself to indicating that she had extensive relations abroad with an Austrian Prince, then with a German Baron; her salon in the Via Cavour at Florence, and later at Montreux in Switzerland, was well known, moreover, for the pro-German sentiments manifested there. Now that lady has transferred her household to Petrograd. Apropos of great ceremonies, her name has appeared in the newspapers. I also found fresh traces of her passage through Paris; the Parisians were scandalized by the Germanophile sentiments of this woman, and, may I add, by her conduct toward the Russian Ambassador, though the latter had had no responsibility in the affair.

It is necessary to recall that this woman is the one who directs the career of Stürmer; a few years ago she openly solicited for him a post as Ambassador. I ought to add that this solicitation was considered perfectly ridiculous at the time, and that it had no results.

In short, gentlemen, I do not pretend to have exposed the whole situation as it really exists; but I do assert that a sort of tunic of Nessus envelops certain of our circles and openly favors that propaganda of which Sir George Buchanan has spoken so frankly in recent days. It behooves us, then, gentlemen, to start a judicial inquiry like that which has been begun in the Sukhomlinoff case. In accusing that officer we had no absolute proofs; it was the examining Magistrate who discovered them. But we already heard what we hear now: the instinctive appeal of the whole country.

Strategy of the Rumanian Retreat

Colonel Konstantin Shumsky, Russia's leading military expert, tells of fighting from Bucharest to Galatz.

[Translated from the Russian for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

THE Teutonic forces moved against Bucharest in three groups—the northern, under General von Falkenhayn, the former Chief of Staff; the western, under General von Delmensingen; the southern, under Field Marshal von Mackensen. Falkenhayn's northern group moved later than the other two, at a time when Delmensingen's western group was at a point twenty-six miles to the west of Bucharest and Mackensen's southern group was eight miles to the south of the city.

The movement of Falkenhayn's group to support the other two groups marked the decisive moment in Germany's Rumanian campaign. After a series of conflicts Falkenhayn reached the railroad station Titu, twenty-six miles to the north of Bucharest. The situation was then as follows:

The three enemy groups formed a half circle around and before Bucharest, which was held by the Rumanian armies. The Rumanians slowly withdrew, in part to Bucharest, in part toward the east, in the direction of the Moldavia-Bessarabia frontier; Bucharest was gradually evacuated.

At the same time, from Falkenhayn's group, which was moving from north to south in the direction of Bucharest, a part was detached and sent hurriedly eastward, in an endeavor to seize Ploesci, which is an important railroad junction, the Ploesci-Buzeu-Focsani line being the most important. The next important railroad junction is Buzeu; by occupying Buzeu the enemy might cut the Rumanian line of retreat from the Bucharest region to the Moldavian line; this might result in the withdrawal of the Rumanians to Galatz; that is, to the Moldavian-Bessarabian frontier, and the cutting of the Rumanian front in two parts—the Moldavian part of the front and the south-

ern part of the front, somewhere to the east of Bucharest.

In view of this menacing possibility, the enemy move against Ploesci was of vital moment, perhaps more important than his move on Bucharest, threatening the withdrawal of the Rumanian armies into Moldavia, and shutting them in between the Danube and the Germans approaching from the north. The Rumanians, therefore, vigorously guarded the road to Ploesci-Buzeu, and held Falkenhayn's army back from Ploesci until Bucharest had been completely evacuated. On Nov. 23 (Dec. 6) at noon the Rumanian rear guard, covering the departure of the main forces, evacuated the last of the eastern forts of the Bucharest circle, and at the same time Ploesci was evacuated by the other rear guard. In this way the Ploesci-Buzeu line was occupied by the enemy, and the Rumanians began to fall back from it to the east, in the direction of Buzeu-Focsani and in the direction of Galatz. The Germans followed up the retreating Rumanian Army with the utmost energy and determination, rightly deciding that, from a military point of view, the capture of Bucharest had fallen far short of complete success, since the main objective of the movement, the Rumanian Army, had successfully withdrawn to the east.

With this aim, Falkenhayn once more dispatched a considerable force along the Ploesci-Buzeu highway, in the attempt to deliver a blow against the centre of the Rumanian battle line. But the Rumanians vigorously resisted his attempt to break their centre between Ploesci and Buzeu, and the Rumanian rear guard continued to maintain their position by vigorous counterattacks.

As a result of this the Rumanians, during the first half of December, succeeded

in taking a new line to the east of Bucharest and stretching from the Danube (approximately opposite Silistria) to the middle of the Yalomitsa River, (at the village of Urziceni,) across the Ploesci-Buzeu highway thirteen miles to the east of Ploesci, and thence north along the frontiers of Moldavia and Transylvania up to the Bukowina, (to the north of Dorna Watra.) Consequently, the direct line of the Rumanian front ran from Bukowina to Silistria, nearly north and south.

So far as can be judged from the German bulletins, Falkenhayn did not succeed in seizing many trophies; he not only did not succeed in trapping the Rumanian Army, but did not even capture any considerable number of Rumanian soldiers. According to the German bulletin of Nov. 21, (Dec. 4,) the number of captives did not exceed 10,000, with twenty-six guns, which must be considered a quite inconsiderable booty, in view of the half million men engaged on both sides in the Rumanian theatre of war. It is true that Bucharest was evacuated two days later, but the Rumanian armies left Bucharest in perfect order, and the enemy was only able to capture the guns which, owing to their position, could not be taken away, chiefly the guns in the armored turrets. As a result the Germans occupied Bucharest and Ploesci, but did not succeed in delivering a serious blow at the Rumanian Army or in weakening its military effectiveness, which was shown in the sequel by the vigorous resistance of the Rumanians on the new battle line to the east of Bucharest.

This completed Falkenhayn's main Rumanian operation, carried out by an army of more than a half million men. It would be foolish to refuse to recognize its success, for, by shortening a front 725 miles long to 270 miles, a great strategic success was obtained, concurrently with the capture of Bucharest; but the effort to keep the Rumanian Army out of Moldavia had failed.

When we come to consider the reasons for the evacuation of Bucharest, practically without fighting, we must recognize as the chief reason the general

strategical position in the Rumanian war theatre. We shall not enter into a detailed analysis of this situation. We need only point out that the enemy movement on Bucharest from three sides—north, west, and south—practically compelled the withdrawal of the Rumanian Army to the east of Bucharest. Further, the technical condition of the Bucharest circle of forts was such that they were no longer defensible. These forts, created by Brialmont, were of the type known as "concrete ironclads." Without doubt, in their time, they were models of military engineering, but they were now out of date; they were built to stop artillery of a bygone age—the 80s and 90s of last century.

The forts were also undersupplied with heavy guns, only two to each two-thirds of a mile of the fortified line; while in the Posen forts, for example, there are no less than fifteen heavy guns for each two-thirds of a mile of the fortified belt. And the forts had yet other defects.

Hence neither the strategical position as a whole nor the character of Bucharest as a fortified place permitted a stiff defense, as it would have been a repetition of the now famous histories of Liège, Namur, and Antwerp, hammered to pieces by German heavy artillery. It would have been still more unwise to shut the Rumanian Army up in the fortress; therefore the Rumanians came to the wise decision to save their army and to effect a junction with our (Russian) battle line, forming its left flank, on the section between Bukowina and Silistria.

In spite of the cold and the mud, warlike operations did not relax. Falkenhayn continued to develop his wide movement, to the east of Bucharest, from Ploesci to Buzeu; and, from this movement, it is possible to understand Falkenhayn's real intention. After taking Bucharest, he transferred the centre of gravity of his advance immediately to the north, seeking by this means to carry out a capital manoeuvre.

This manoeuvre will become intelligible, if we take into consideration that the enemy transferred the mass of his sol-

diers from Bucharest to Ploesci, and thence moved in the direction of Buzeu, seeking to capture Buzeu before the Rumanian Army could pass through. But this plan failed, thanks to the co-operation of Russian forces, and especially of Russian cavalry.

As was clearly shown by the bulletins, considerable forces of Russian cavalry were thrown in front of Buzeu, and succeeded in checking the main advance of Falkenhayn against that important point. The cavalry fought both mounted and dismounted; digging trenches, and opening fire on the enemy, they compelled him to change from marching into fighting order, and to organize a deliberate attack in loose order. The cavalry waited until the enemy was within a few hundred yards, then mounted and withdrew to the next prepared position, where the same tactics were repeated. Further, wherever possible, separate detachments of cavalry made mounted attacks, thus further delaying the advance of the enemy's armies.

Cavalry work of this kind requires great self-sacrifice, energy, and speed, and this work was admirably done by our Russian horse before Buzeu, thus gaining sufficient time for the Rumanian Army to withdraw in two directions, from Buzeu to Rymnits-Focsani, and, further south, from the region east of Bucharest to Galatz.

In this way, after a series of obstinate conflicts, a new temporary battle line was occupied sixty-six miles to the east of Bucharest, in a straight line running from the frontier of Moldavia to the village of Battogu and thence to the Danube, somewhat to the north of Hirsovo. This front had its continuation in the Dobrudja, where similar attacks were made by the enemy with considerable forces.

The enemy attacked the village of Tertumele in considerable force, and, after an obstinate conflict, succeeded in occupying it. The village of Tertumele is not far from Babadakh, to which the allied forces evidently withdrew. There remained the contest for the twenty-five-

mile strip of the Dobrudja. The enemy evidently strained every nerve to seize this strip, in order to reach the marshy Danube delta somewhere near Tulchi, and thus to rectify his front in the Dobrudja with his front in Moldavia, which ran through Rimnik-Philipesci-Batogu and other points.

The enemy thus completed the shortening of his Rumanian front from 750 miles to 270 miles. But he was not content with this, and having in view the employment of a smaller number of troops to guard the Rumanian theatre of war, he endeavored to shorten his front by 75 to 100 miles more. It was possible to see this from the efforts of the enemy to advance in the Dobrudja to the marshy Danube delta, where a smaller defensive force would be sufficient, and to the Wallachian-Moldavian frontier, approximately on the line Galatz-Focsani, which would still further shorten the front. Naturally this effort met with vigorous resistance on the part of the Allies, and as a result the enemy was brought to a standstill without reaching the line Rimnik-Philipesci-Batogu; that is, forty or fifty miles behind the Focsani-Galatz line. This made it necessary to expect some new grouping of the enemy's forces, and a further development of the operations in the direction of Focsani-Galatz, in a new effort by the enemy to rectify his front.

We may easily understand that, if the shortening of his front from 750 to 270 miles was of great importance to him, its further reduction from 270 miles to 150 miles was of much less importance. Falkenhayn's main objective was already gained, and, if the enemy continued his forward movement in the Rumanian theatre of war, the cause of this movement was much less strategical than political; it was to give such an impression of "uninterrupted victories" as would strengthen the hands of German diplomacy in the game it was preparing to play, the peace proposals on the basis of German victory. But this impression was shattered by General Nivelle's sweeping successes before Verdun.

His Majesty's Danube Monitors

Karl Marilaun, a Vienna journalist, wrote, for his paper the subjoined description of the Danube operations against Rumania. It is here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE as an interesting war episode and a good example of the Austro-Hungarian war spirit.

COMPARED with their heavy cousins of the high seas, the dreadnoughts of the Danube are only little, almost dainty, ships. The most powerful Danube monitor is hardly as long as a big modern submarine; and if the calibre of heroic deeds, daring, and scorn of death were to be measured by ships' tonnage, his Majesty's battle fleet on the waters of the lower Danube would come out pretty poorly.

And yet the Austro-Hungarian naval battle flag does not wave a bit more proudly from the floating iron forts represented by our big battleships than it does from the masts of the nimble little Danube monitors, from whose guns—how long ago it now seems!—thundered the first shots of the great war. They were aimed at the Belgrade fort, which has been taken long ago. In the war against Serbia they got their first honorable scars; then they were guarding the famous crossing of the Danube that decided the Serbian war, and they united with Mackensen once again a year later when the Rumanian campaign began.

That this war with Rumania was sure to come was known no better by any one than by those on board the gray little warships. The young Hungarians in their crews have sharp eyes, and they did not lie on guard in the Bulgarian port of Rustchuk for months for nothing. From that point, and while making numerous scouting trips up and down the Danube, they saw how the Rumanians were beginning to prepare for the war which at that time nobody really wanted to believe was coming.

The monitors' crews are mainly composed of Hungarians, though Croatians and Italians of the coastal districts have also volunteered for service on the Danube flotilla. They are all genuine seadogs who have grown up on the water, are at home on the waves, and have the heavy, rolling gait of the true

seaman, to whom any piece of floating plank is more comfortable than the solid land ashore. In time of peace the Croatians, Slovenians, and Italians among them are fishermen along the Adriatic; at home they have stood many a stormy blast, and the Serbian war was just the thing that gave them a chance to satisfy their innate love of adventures—wet adventures. The Hungarians among the crews come from the Danube, the Theiss, and the idyllic, reedy banks of Platten Lake. They, too, in the distant days of peace were fishermen, boatmen, boat builders, and ferrymen. They shot herons and wild geese with the rifle in one hand, so that the other did not have to release its hold on the unyielding, heavy wooden oar. Able, daring fellows, every one, made hard by hard service, and loving their watery element as the hunter loves the forest, they have a fierce joy in their profession and are well-tanned, sinewy, slender sons of Enoch, of the race of their forefathers who hollowed out the fallen trunks of primeval trees and gayly intrusted their lives to wind and waves.

There they sat, a year after the Serbian war, with their hands in their laps and their falconlike eyes fixed on the Rumanian shore, which for the time was not as yet a hostile shore. The Temes lay anchored for months in the harbor of Rustchuk. On her deck Hungarians and Bulgars became good friends, and this friendship grew to the strains of the monitor's Hungarian band, to the sounding of the Hungarian cymbals, and to the wildly exultant and passionately wailing notes of the Hungarian violins, whose melody brought a blank, dreamy look to the eyes of the brown, seasoned chaps in the dark blue sailors' uniforms.

And so the raw Spring of this year passed; it became Summer, and the days were doubly hot; the war hung in the

air; everybody felt it coming, almost saw it, and on board the monitors bets were made as to when it would finally break out, which were only a few days out of the way. In the course of the persistent scouting and reconnoitring trips they occasionally met Rumanian monitors in the neighborhood of Tutra-kan; black, soot-spitting, ugly little things, with which they in the meantime got along very well. All kinds of news were signaled from boat to boat, greetings were exchanged in the language of the gay flags and of the colored signal lamps, and the Hungarian and Croatian youths sometimes cast dark looks toward one of these roving, waddling Rumanian patrol boats. In all eyes was the question that they did not dare translate into the language of the pennants and glowing lamps; the burning, fierce, threatening question: "When will it begin?"

And they began it—the Rumanians. They began it on the banks of the Danube the same way as their brothers began it in the passes near Kronstadt. On a Summer evening, one of the last in August, they fired from Giurgevo across the river. Columns of fire arose from the harbor of Rustchuk. This attack was the declaration of war, and in a jiffy the Austro-Hungarian monitors that were lying there with steam up hoisted their battle flags. The river had again become a field of action; the vessels steamed out of the harbor that was being bombarded by the Rumanians. "Clear the decks for action!" rang the commanders' orders through the speaking tubes over the steel-clad quarterdecks, and out through the enemy's badly aimed fire the fleet steamed upstream, shelled the Rumanian shore, destroyed what it could reach, sank some Rumanian ships under the fire of the Rumanian land forces, and reached the Hungarian Danube without having received the slightest scar in this initial battle. But not a man had seen the Rumanian monitors.

When the Rumanians, after the fall of Tutra-kan and Silistria, made a desperate and hopeless attempt and crossed the Danube at Rahova, two of our Danube monitors, accompanied by four patrol boats, appeared in order to cut off the

retreat over the Danube of the enemy, who had been utterly defeated by the Bulgars and the Germans. The six little ships bravely held their own against the fire of the artillery on the Rumanian shore, and soon the Rumanians began to fire upon them from the Bulgarian shore. But the Hungarians and the Croatians, in the midst of a hail of shells from both sides, lay in the centre of the stream and fired upon the Rumanian engineers' pontoon bridges as if they were merely at target practice during manoeuvres.

As the Rumanians, defeated by the Bulgars, were retreating in headlong flight over the bridges, our monitors, five kilometers below, shot the bridges to pieces. At that time thousands of dead Rumanians floated down the stream, and behind them came the pieces of the destroyed pontoon bridges. The Rumanians had experienced bad luck again.

After having done their work our monitors steamed up the mine-strewn Danube. Not one of the six ships was missing, nor had any sustained serious damage. One monitor had run aground during the heat of the battle, but it had not ceased firing for a single minute; and in the midst of a heavy bombardment by the Rumanians, who were now shooting much better, one of the little boats passed a line to the larger vessel and towed it to safety. The Rahova adventure had cost the Rumanians a small army; during the next few days the pitiless Danube washed the bodies of drowned soldiers to land by the hundreds. The lists of the losses of the Danube monitors on this day of bloody work totaled just eleven men.

The logbooks of his Majesty's Danube monitors contain many accounts of other heroic feats, which may never be made public. All the public may know is that the brave bluejackets down there are doing their duty, as they have been doing it for more than two years, and with steadfast hearts are waiting for the day on which, lined up in their well-tryed battle array, they will steam down the conquered Danube with pennants flying, out of the Hungarian waters to the stone arches of the big bridge at Cernavoda.

This, the smallest of our squadrons, helped clear the Dobrudja of the enemy in two weeks; it was the ally of the Bulgars and the Germans in their drive from the walls of Tutrakan to the falling

fortifications and ramparts of Constanza, and from the laurels crowning the troops that stormed the Dobrudja we may weave a heavy green wreath for his Majesty's monitors.

Wrecking Rumania's Oil Wells

Story of an Eyewitness

Hamilton Fyfe, special correspondent of The London Daily Mail, wrote from Jassy, Rumania, on Dec. 13, 1916:

DURING the last week I have been in bed only twice, so if these pictures and impressions are a little disjointed I think I may reasonably ask to be forgiven.

As I look back, these seven days seem like a nightmare born of the huge flares of burning petrol, lakes of petrol, rivers of petrol, set on fire of set purpose in order to prevent the enemy from getting lubrication oil.

I fancy it is the destruction of the petrol industry of Rumania which will leave the deepest imprint on my imagination. I have been with armies in retreat before. It is always a hateful experience. This retreat was hastier than the others I have seen, but in essentials not different. The attack on the oil fields was something entirely new. I had tried to picture it to myself beforehand, but without any success. The reality was such as no man's mind could have conceived in advance. Even to convey any idea of it is difficult after it has happened.

The whole business appears to me now so fantastic that I catch myself doubting if it really did happen. That it could be possible to wipe out so completely the slowly built-up result of years upon years of thought and labor, of highly trained intelligence and highly skilled labor, had never occurred to me. When I heard the talk first of what could be done to prevent the oil falling into the enemy's possession I had a vision of tanks set alight, of derricks at the well-heads demolished.

Destruction of that which has been created by man's energy for the satisfaction of the world's needs, of that which pro-

vides profit and wage for hundreds of thousands of people and so enables them to live, must be a hideous, saddening spectacle. That the wrecking was beyond all question necessary made the case no better. It added to it a horrid irony. We were forced to defend ourselves against barbarians by barbarous means. To leave the oil wells untouched would have been a crime. The Germans and their dupes need lubricants very badly. These were the only oil fields from which they could get them in any quantity. They would have benefited by the products of the Rumanian wells for as long as they occupied the oil region. Then they would have destroyed the industry themselves so as to prevent the Allies from making use of it.

It was therefore an urgent matter, when the enemy flood came pouring over the Rumanian plain, sweeping the Rumanian Army before it, to set about destruction with vigor. Fortunately a very vigorous man was sent out from England to direct it. Colonel Norton Griffiths surprised not only the Rumanians by his energetic methods: he surprised the Americans as well. To see him wielding a big hammer, swinging it around his head and smashing up machinery with it, just to show how the work ought to be done, made one poetical mine manager describe him as being "in love with ruin."

Neither weariness nor danger could daunt him. When the petrol in basins would not light quickly, he took bundles of straw, thrust them into it, and set them alight, escaping just in time. His helpers were worthy of their chief. The task of destruction was worse for them, since they were wrecking what they had

themselves helped to build; but they went at it with a fury of determination to leave nothing of what they had built to aid the enemy.

"It was pretty hard," one of them said, on the morning after the finish of the wrecking process at Moreny, the most productive of the oil districts; "it was pretty hard to break up one's home, furniture, books, grand piano, everything. But we did it thoroughly, by Jove! Millions of pounds' worth of property destroyed in a few days. Oil burned, wells blocked, machinery demolished, refineries put out of action. Some wreck, believe me." All over the country round about the smoke of the bonfires turned day into night. At Targovistea, twenty miles distant, there rolled over the town, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, a dense black fog which hid the sky.

In Bucharest the population could scarce believe the tale that came from Ploesti, the oil town. They had heard for the first time the day before the murmur of cannon, still far off. While they were trying to keep their spirits up they had the accounts of the wrecking. They knew now there was little hope of saving the capital.

A little before this a train had gone through the station filled with soldiers and refugees. Whenever I used the railway in these pitiful days I found crowds of refugees at every station. Rich and poor, old and young, women with tiny children, babies a few weeks old even, huddled together on the platforms and in the trains, cold and hungry, cramped and sore.

There was nothing whatever to eat at the railway stations. I saw a kindly American oil engineer sharing a loaf with a Rumanian Colonel and cutting off chunks of the bread for two boys who had been ordered, as all men between 18 and 46 were ordered, to leave a district that was in danger of occupation.

The prices that well-to-do people paid for vehicles to take them into safety even

before there was any immediate danger were enormous. For a motor car to go from Bucharest to Ploesti £320 was paid. And, after all, Ploesti fell before Bucharest. For cabs many paid £60, £70, and £80. An Englishman and his wife drove in a cab from Bucharest to Galatz. They were eight days on the way. Another British couple, with a baby 2 weeks old, fought their way into a train.

How long a train will take to reach its destination cannot be guessed. One day I waited at Galatz station from 2 o'clock until 8, the stationmaster assuring me every hour that a train would come soon. It came at 8, started at 10, and made fairly good progress. At 6 in the morning we were within fifty miles of the town I was making for. But we did not get there until 6 in the evening.

On the roads there was more freedom of movement, but one was liable at any moment to get mixed up in a jam of ox wagons, motor transports, hay carts, driven cattle, and retreating troops. On the highway that leads northward from Buzeu, a few days before the enemy came to this region, four transport columns were struggling along at once. Among them, in an inextricable mess, were refugees in all kinds of vehicles, from small open cabs to lumbering farm wagons drawn by white oxen with magnificent horns.

I had been during the day at the village where the staff lived and worked. Toward evening I motored into Ploesti to get some food. Vain hope! At the railway station restaurant, where one could generally count upon a meal, there was nothing. Fortunately, a companion and I had provided ourselves with an emergency ration. We pulled out half a cold turkey, ordered glasses of tea, and fell to. While we were eating, the restaurant was invaded by the headquarters staff. Their special trains, which had been waiting for days with steam up, ready to start at any moment, had just come in. We shared our turkey with acquaintances and were invited to join the train.

British Campaigns in Turkey

By James B. Macdonald

THE population of Turkey at the present time is approximately 18,000,000, distributed thus: 2,750,000 in Turkey in Europe, 9,250,000 in Anatolia, 1,500,000 in Armenia and Kurdistan, 4,500,000 in Syria and Mesopotamia. Turks and Kurds represent a half of the population and Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, &c., the remainder, who, for various reasons, are more or less disaffected, but have nevertheless been impressed for military purposes.

Since the war commenced Turkey has mobilized between 1,000,000 and 1,250,000 men, yet half of these are accounted for by losses at the Dardanelles, in Armenia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egypt, and by ravages of cholera, typhus, and other diseases. The army is now reduced to 600,000 men, and is understood to be located as follows: 313,500 in Armenia and Mesopotamia, 85,500 in Syria and Arabia, 71,250 in Anatolia, Adrianople, and the Dardanelles, 28,500 in Galicia, 28,500 in Rumania, 14,250 in Macedonia; total active forces, 541,500; these, with 58,500 strategic reserves, make the grand total of 600,000.

Although the class of 1918 has already been called up, it is expected that other 200,000 men may be raked up from various sources during the next few months. In addition there are about 60,000 German and Austrian troops maintaining Enver Pasha and his colleagues in power at Constantinople, guarding the Cilician gate, and complementing the Turkish armies elsewhere.

In normal times the attitude of the Turks to the aliens in their midst is that of tolerant masters, but under the stress of racial or religious excitement they occasionally break out into wholesale excesses which startle the Christian world. Until eight years ago enlistment in the army was open only to Moslems, and by this means the foreign elements were intimidated. The Old Turks welcomed the conversion of infidels to

Islam, and were fairly tolerant to aliens so long as they left politics alone. The Young Turks do not profess to be religious, but they insist on the conversion of all foreign elements within the State into ready-made Turks, whether they will or no, and have drafted them into the army promiscuously with the Moslems. The reason of their action is less questionable than the method they have taken to remedy it.

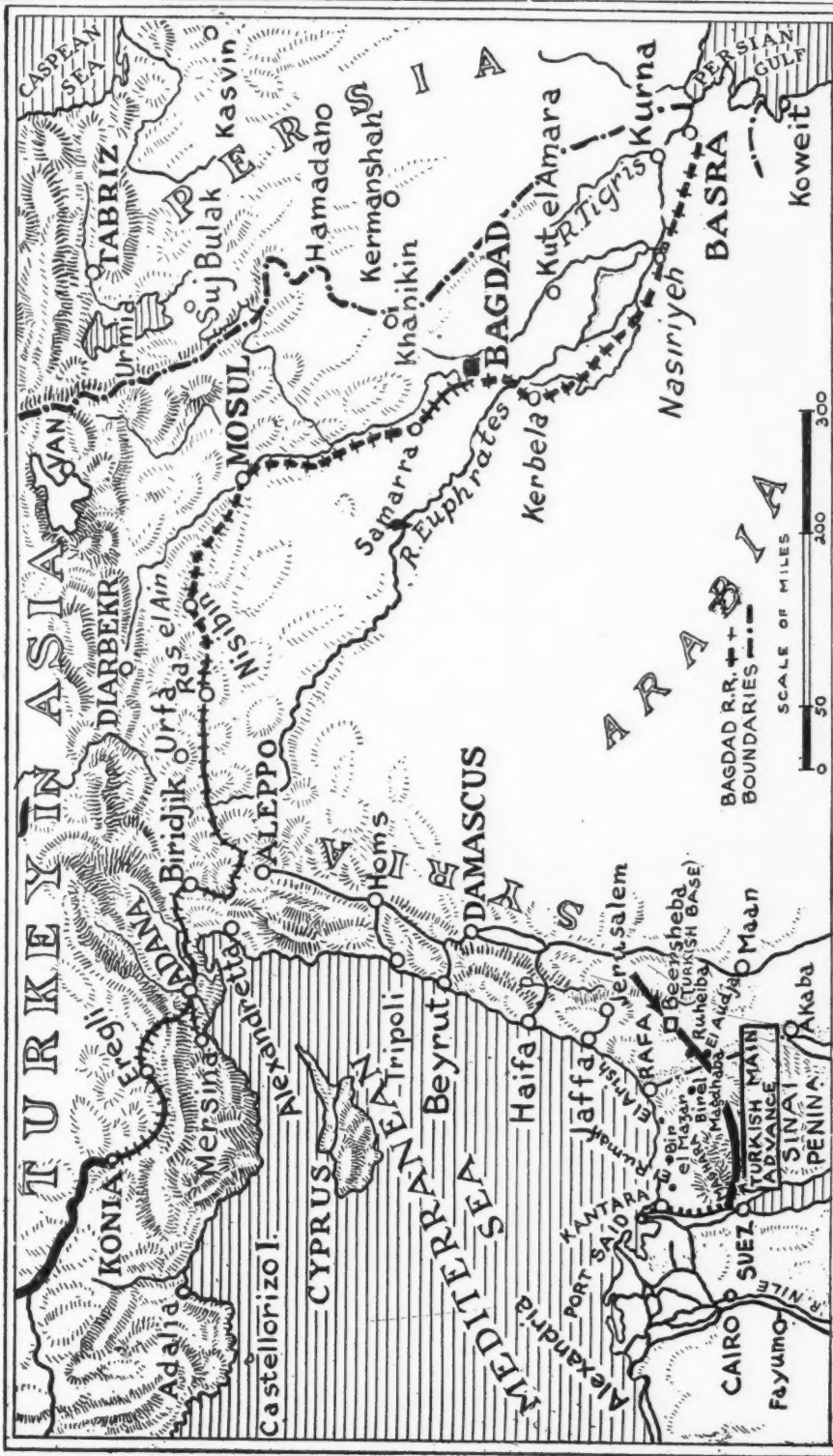
The Turkish population was rapidly decreasing in numbers and its poorer members descending in the social scale, while all were becoming less and less capable of competing with the commercialized Armenians, Greeks, and Jews. This was attributed to the burden of recruitment for the army falling principally upon the Osmanli and the exemption of the aliens.

The New British Campaign

To appreciate the Winter campaign of the British in the East, we should remember that their misdirected efforts in the past have little bearing on the present position, which is totally different. Their army, after two years of schooling in modern warfare, has developed experienced soldiers, and the whole machine is working smoothly under the single direction of the General Staff. With the most perfect equipment of any army in the field, they have made long and careful preparation for a blow in the East and later in the West.

Karachi, the northern port of India, is only five days' steaming from Basra, the seabase of the army in Mesopotamia, and India, with its great resources, is behind these preparations.

Egypt is much more than a helpless dependency which has to be defended against weak attacks from Turks, Senoussi, and Darfur fanatics. It is the great central clearing camp for overseas troops from Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa, and reinforcements from Great Britain, with a large native



SCENE OF NEW BRITISH ACTIVITIES AGAINST THE TURKS IN EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA

army in reserve. Egypt never was in any danger since the war commenced, because half of the Turkish Army has continuously been immobilized elsewhere, and the undivided energy of the whole was necessary to put up a respectable fight for the Suez Canal.

Troops can be dispatched from this distributing centre to Mesopotamia, Saloniki, Syria, or the Levant, as occasion may require.

It is a mistake to assume that the war in the East will be won or lost in the Balkans. While that region constitutes the corridor for Germany's entry into her projected Oriental Empire, her chief enemy can more easily reach the same goal by a different route. Britain has no use for the Balkan corridor as such, having her own private latchkey into Mesopotamia through her absolute dominion over the Persian Gulf and its littoral. What will it avail Germany if she gain the corridor, and even the ferry at Constantinople, and yet lose the land of promise itself, for which she has risked so much? Constantinople would be untenable with hostile artillery on the opposite (Asiatic) shore, and it is possible to get them there. Many of the great conquerors of the past have entered Constantinople by this route. At the point where Darius crossed by a bridge of boats, the Bosphorus (which signifies ox-ford) is only 2,800 feet in breadth. The withdrawal from the Dardanelles did not mean that the objective had been abandoned, but rather that the undertaking had assumed a new direction.

It is Russia and Austria, and more recently Germany, who each believe the use of the Balkan alleyway is a prime necessity for its particular well-being.

The principal object which Austria had in initiating the war was to further her ambition to seize Saloniki and Albania. This might not be attained at one leap, but it would be advanced if Serbia were put out of business. With Saloniki as her principal seaport Austria would have the free run of the Mediterranean; and with the fine harbors of Albania and Dalmatia in her possession would dominate the Adriatic and become an important maritime and naval power.

Britain, France, and Italy, the naval powers of the Mediterranean, could not countenance this attempt to alter the *status quo* without even the politeness of "by your leave," and their prompt seizure of Saloniki and Valona foiled Austria-Hungary early in the war. The dual kingdom has consequently been fighting a losing game ever since. Bulgaria went to war to seize Monastir, and having lost it she also is in a quandary. These two powers are more ready for peace than any of the other belligerents, because they realize that they have little to gain and much to lose by continuing the war.

It is doubtful if the Turkish Government has yet attained this frame of mind, but certainly none of the remaining belligerents have.

The Issue in the East

It suited Germany's book to back Austria's adventure into Serbia because as long as the Balkan corridor was "in the family" it would enable her to consolidate her position in Turkey. Briefly, Germany intended to settle the Near and Middle Eastern questions in her own favor without consulting the other great powers, who had more important and long-standing interests involved than she had.

Apart from trade interests, Britain and France are the largest creditors of Turkey, and as such interested in the financial aspect of Constantinople. As the two leading naval powers in the Mediterranean, they could not acquiesce when a rival naval power like Germany moved to take possession of Constantinople without even consulting them.

Their ally Russia also had a much better claim to Constantinople and the strait than Germany had, and the Entente Powers have indorsed Russia's claim, which is one of the principal objects of the war.

It was not so much Constantinople as the derelict valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris that Germany was after, but she could not reach and maintain communication with the latter unless she was in *de facto* possession of the former. Britain, however, had asserted her predominance over this area long before Ger-

many appeared on the scene, hence the Teuton challenge made for war between the two countries. The position is similar to what would arise if Germany had challenged the Monroe Doctrine.

Germany has exposed her hand in Turkey only since the war began, and consequently this phase of the dispute is not so much before the public, but is none the less in evidence. While the invasion of Belgium was an immediate danger to England itself, the absorption of Asiatic Turkey by Germany was an equal danger to India and Egypt. In point of time the former decided Britain's action in declaring war on Germany, but the latter would probably have insured the same result.

So long as Germany holds to her Eastern ambitions, so long will Britain and Russia fight her, even if all other matters in dispute are removed. Germany has not yet abandoned hope, but the result of the fighting in Asiatic Turkey during the next few months may bring about a decision in that field.

Britain's interest in Asiatic Turkey, as we understand it, is primarily a military one. The policy of Downing Street has been to maintain Asia Minor as a buffer State for the protection of India against European aggression. This was the purport of the convention with Turkey in 1878, whereby Britain guaranteed the latter in the possession of Asia Minor in perpetuity and received a lease of the Island of Cyprus as consideration.

Now that the present Turkish Government has subverted the guarantee by throwing down the barriers and admitting Germany within the stronghold, Britain at war has to secure herself by seizing such a strategic frontier as will protect India and Egypt from the German danger. That is the military object of the operations which they are now conducting in the Middle East.

Where can such a defensive frontier be found? Beyond any doubt in the Taurus and Amanus Mountains. Should the British succeed in attaining that barrier during the present cold weather season, then they will securely possess, in the country behind them, that which Germany sought, and they will hold be-

sides, in her conquered colonies and sequestered foreign trade, much which Germany already had; and the latter per contra would have nothing of theirs to offset these losses. That would be defeat as Germany understands it, although it would not be victory as Britain desires it, for the latter has never yet entered upon war in a huckstering spirit.

The issue in the Middle East is likely to be fought out at an early date on the plains of Mesopotamia and possibly also in the hills of Syria. Decisive results are more likely to be obtained here than elsewhere, because the British Empire can bring the maximum of force to bear at this point, and its enemies are not so favorably situated.

The Strategic Key—Adana

In Mesopotamia and on the Turco-Egyptian frontier the cold season, which corresponds to our Winter, is the only possible time for European troops. In December the British offensive was resumed in Mesopotamia and on the Sinai desert. Both operations may have a common objective, and be a mutual aid to each other. Should such be the case and success attend their arms, then the Euphrates and Syrian columns would converge and come together at Aleppo, while the Tigris column continued upstream to Mosul to establish contact with the Russian left wing.

The Adana vilayet is the strategic prize which the British, or the Russians, or both, must capture to vanquish Germany in the East and facilitate the complete conquest of Turkey.

The Taurus Mountains form a natural wall bisecting the Turkish Empire in Asia from the Gulf of Alexandretta to Trebizond on the Black Sea. In a military sense there are only three gates breaking the continuity—the Cilician Gate, Erzerum, and Trebizond. Whoever holds these has sallyports giving entrance into the neighboring territory. The two last mentioned have already been gained by Russia, and it is Britain's part to secure the Cilician Gate—the celebrated pass through the Taurus Mountains near Adana.

The vilayet of Adana embraces the

alluvial flats at the head of the Gulf of Alexandretta, which are entirely inclosed by the Taurus Mountains on the west and north and by the Amanus Mountains on the east. A landing from the sea would be a perilous undertaking, as the shore flats are commanded from the surrounding hills, which are understood to be strongly held.

Tunnels through these mountains are in course of construction, which when completed will link up the partly built Bagdad railway and the Syrian lines with the Konieh section, which runs through Anatolia to the Bosphorus, opposite Constantinople. This brings the most vital railway communications in Turkey within twenty miles of the coast, and this critical area is guarded by at least one camp of 10,000 German troops. The Taurus Mountain tunnel is expected to take two more years to finish, and in the meantime the break in the railway is served by motor transport over a distance of forty-five miles. The Amanus Mountain tunnel is also unfinished, but German engineers during the last year have constructed a temporary light railway, twenty-six miles long, over the mountains.

Turkey's Railway Communications

The Turkish communications suffer from the fact that in several places they run near the sea and invite the attention of hostile seaplane squadrons. They have the further defect of being single line railways, and any interruption throws the whole system out of gear. London War Office announcements show that systematic raids have been made on weak points of the Turkish railway communications. One squadron dropped bombs on the Kule Burgas Bridge over the Maritza River between Adrianople and Constantinople; another bombed an important railway bridge fifteen miles north of Beersheba, (the Turkish base for the Egyptian and Arabian fronts,) and yet another destroyed the Chicalder Bridge, some eighteen miles east of Adana—the most vulnerable point of all. Previous exploits included the bombing of Homs and Afulch junctions on the Syrian railways.

The Campaign in Sinai

When the British annexed Egypt, on the declaration of war in 1914, it threw the onus on the Turks to recover it if they could. Two attempts have failed ignominiously, and although Enver Pasha recently announced that another would be made, it is not apparent where Turkey has the resources to back up his words.

The British command has taken up his gage and carried the war across the desert to the Turkish frontier. This feat is a notable one, carried out unostentatiously on a larger scale than the Turkish ventures and across the same route taken by Napoleon in 1799.

Economic Egypt lies to the west of the Suez Canal, and east of it lies the Sinai Peninsula, which is all desert as far as the Turco-Egyptian boundary, with the exception of a few waterholes. It is not entirely devoid of life, as goats can subsist on the desert shrub, and they pass for wealth with the nomad Arabs. History records that the children of Israel wandered in this "wilderness" for forty years.

This arid region has been the theatre of the Turkish invasion. There are three well-beaten tracks across the desert, which have been in continuous use since before the Christian era. The northern route runs along the Mediterranean coast from Kantara, on the Suez Canal, thirty miles south of Port Said, to Rafa, on the Turkish border. It is 120 miles long, with seven waterholes by the way. The central route, from Ismailia, on the canal, runs to Beersheba, the main Turkish base in Southern Palestine. It is about 140 miles to the boundary line and has six waterholes. The southern route runs from Suez to Akaba, on the gulf of that name, a distance of about 150 miles, with only three waterholes. From Nakhil, midway on the southern route, another road connects diagonally with the central route in Turkish territory, and runs alongside the Wady El Arish (the River of Egypt) part of the way.

The first Turkish attempt on the canal, in February, 1915, made use of all these roads, but the main advance was by the central one. The second Turkish effort, in July and August, 1916, was along the

northern route, supported by a column based upon the Maghara Hills, midway across the central route. Since then Anglo-Egyptian forces have broken up threatening concentrations of the Turks at the well of El Mazar and at the Maghara Hills.

On Dec. 21 a British force, by a surprise attack, captured the fortified town of El Arish, ninety miles east of the canal and thirty miles from the border. El Arish is on the northern road close to the coast, and between it and Nakhl stretches a dry watercourse called the Wady El Arish, (the River of Egypt of ancient times,) with a string of waterholes along its route. The town served as the Turkish forward base, and they had carried the railhead to it from Beersheba. The Turkish communiqué admits that the garrison abandoned El Arish without a fight, and inferentially that they left in a hurry.

Following up this advantage, the British pursued the Turks up the Wady to the waterhole of Magdhaba and captured 1,350 prisoners, 3 mountain guns, 7 Krupp guns, and other military stores. Another mobile column advanced through the Mftla Pass and destroyed the enemy's defenses and camps on the road to Nakhl.

On Jan. 9 Australian mounted troops and the Imperial Camel Corps crossed the Turkish border, and, after an all-day engagement, carried by assault six lines of intrenchments covering the town of Rafa, which they occupied. Later, reinforcements coming to the aid of the Turks were located and destroyed. According to the preliminary report, 1,600 unwounded prisoners and four mountain guns were captured.

These successes are more important than would appear from the cables. They signify that the vanguard of the British army in Egypt has crossed the desert, is now on the Turkish frontier, and within striking distance of Beersheba, the main Turkish base. An invasion of Palestine would appear to be imminent, since the British are laying a railway as they advance, and have seized the enemy's approaching railhead, which connects with the Syrian lines.

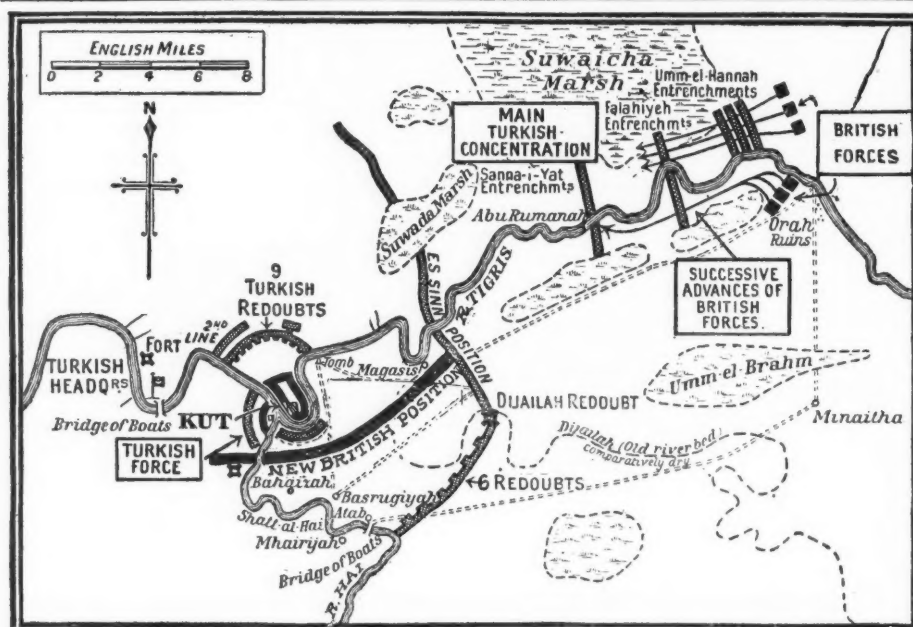
Campaign in Babylonia

That portion of lower Mesopotamia now occupied by the British was known in Biblical times as the "land of the Caldees," and the theatre of their immediate objective is familiarized as Babylonia, or the country inclosed by the bulge of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris before they come together near Kurna. It is a rich alluvial plain, formerly intensively cultivated and irrigated by numerous canals, but neglected since the Arabs, Seljuks, Mongols, and Turks overran it in succession. The land resembles the central plains of India, and the two great rivers correspond to the Ganges and the Jumna. The heat, however, is more intense.

In ancient times the country was protected from flooding by embankments and artificial lakes, which ran off the overflow, but since these have been abandoned the rivers flow where they will, and much of the land at times becomes swamp and morass. One of the first things the British had to do was to construct a bund, or great embankment, several miles in extent to prevent the river from flooding out their base camp at Basra. A similar bund may be seen at Allahabad in India, which was built at the time of the Mogul conquest by the great Akhbar, and is still in use.

The dredging of the river bar having been seen to, two railways were pushed ahead—one to the Tigris front below Kut-el-Amara, and the other to the Euphrates front at Nasiriyeh. All the troops who had been through the terrible heat of the hot weather season in Babylonia were relieved, and their places taken by a fresh army. The country around Nasiriyeh is reputed to be the site of the Garden of Eden, but the Tommies stationed there firmly believe that a mistake has been made and that it really was the site of the other place.

The Euphrates River at Nasiriyeh is connected with the Tigris River at Kut-el-Amara by the Shatt-el-Hai, (River of Hai,) about a hundred miles long. Early in the war, the Turks came down the Shatt-el-Hai from Kut-el-Amara in an attempt to raise the siege of Nasiriyeh,



RECENT BRITISH OPERATIONS ON THE TIGRIS AT KUT-EL-AMARA. THE ARROWS INDICATE THE FORMER ATTEMPT TO BREAK THROUGH THE TURKISH LINES AT THE TIME WHEN GENERAL TOWNSHEND WAS BESIEGED IN KUT

but arrived too late. This stream has again come into prominence through the recent operations. The Es Sinn position on the right bank of the Tigris was abandoned by the Turks in May last, but the British made no move to occupy it.

On Sept. 9 a reconnoitring party from Nasiriyeh was attacked on the Shatt-el-Hai by Turkish irregulars, and two days later a mixed force drove the enemy northward with the loss of 200 dead. The long-expected British offensive was launched on Dec. 13 and 14, and, gaining possession of the bridge of boats at Atab on the Shatt-el-Hai, a few miles south of Kut-el-Amara, drove in the Turkish defenses south of the town. The cables do not divulge where this force came from; whether from the main body on the Tigris, or from the other base at Nasiriyeh.

General Maude, who is now in command, consolidated his new position from Kala Haji Fahan to Magasis, which brings him within a mile of the Tigris south of Kut-el-Amara. The British hold one side of the river and the Turks the other. Possession of the river is indis-

pensable to the Turks if they would remain where they are, and it is equally indispensable to the British if they would move forward. Both depend on it for drinking water and transportation, and neither can move far from its banks. The war in these parts is essentially a struggle for possession of the rivers, and the rise or fall of the stream may make all the difference between success and failure to one side or the other.

The Tigris is usually at its lowest in September, October, and November. It rises about a foot, sometimes two feet, in consequence of the December rains, and keeps fairly high during January, February, and March. In April it begins to appreciate the melting of the snow in the Armenian hills, and in May and June it is in flood. In July and August the river falls again.

When General Townshend won the first battle of Kut-el-Amara, on Sept. 28, 1915, he was unable to follow on the heels of the routed Turks into Bagdad because the river was too low to permit of his transports ascending it. It was improbable, therefore, that General Maude would bring on a general engagement

until the river was sufficiently high to permit of his reaping the full benefit of a victory, or before he had freedom to manoeuvre on at least one of his flanks. These eventualities have now arisen: the cables reported moderate rainfall early in December and heavy downpour toward the end of the month; while the extension of his left flank to the junction of the River Hai with the Tigris gave him the desired freedom of movement to the north along the right bank of the Tigris—at least for his light Indian cavalry and Royal Horse Artillery, which are admirably suited to this style of warfare. Unlike the battles of last year, the coming fight is not primarily for possession of the town of Kut-el-Amara—that could probably have been captured

any time in the last three months, as The London Times asserts.

The immediate military object of the invading army is the destruction of the organized Turkish forces in Babylonia and Persia. The strategy to this end is directed, not by the General on the spot but by the General Staff in Europe. The former, however, is the executive who controls the tactics and takes the credit from the public or bears the blame, as the case may be. The day is past when a General can evolve his own strategy as he approaches the field of battle or can fight for his own glory and advancement, and brilliant individual play has made way for combination teamwork in a war theatre which may cover continents.

The President's Peace Note

[A cartoon in verse.]

By OLIVER HERFORD

Suppose a Snake with threatening coils
Hung o'er a Thrush's nest,
And while the Thrush against its toils
Was battling her best
An angry Owl cried "Twit to whoo!
You've spoiled my sleep! For shame!
The objects of each one of you
Are virtually the same."

Suppose a Hoodlum who has felled
A woman and a child
By angry citizens is held,
When o'er the tumult wild
A voice is heard, "This hullabaloo
Must stop—you're all to blame.
The objects of each one of you
Are virtually the same!"

Suppose when Tell, the patriot Swiss,
Shot at the apple tied
To his son's head, and knew to miss
Would mean infanticide,
Suppose some yodeler had a fit
And yelled as Tell took aim,
"Too loodle loo! Whate'er you hit
'Tis virtually the same!"

Suppose that when we came to blows
With George the Third and won
Our land of Liberty, suppose
Instead of Washington
We'd had a gifted man of words
Who cried, "Why fight? For shame!
Our objects and King George the Third's
Are virtually the same."

The Turkish Soldier

By Lieutenant S. F. Bryant

United States Navy

Lieutenant Bryant, now of the President's yacht *Mayflower*, was on duty in Turkish waters for the last two years and a half—on board the United States steamship *Scorpion*. For part of that time he was unofficially attached to the American Embassy at Constantinople, looking after British prisoners in Turkey. This gave him opportunities for gathering the impressions of Turkish soldiers embodied in the present article, which is published with the official sanction of the Navy Department.

TO those who have not known him the makeup of the Turkish soldier may bring surprises. The real fighting man that fought in the front ranks at Gallipoli is the one under discussion, and is different from the inland police official that assisted in the attempt to move the Armenian people out of the range of war fronts and communications.

The striking arm of the Turkish defense is made up of the able-bodied peasants of the interior, who have not had their natures corrupted by the influence of city life. Uneducated, sincere, and most loyal in religion, long suffering in toil and hard times, the "fellaheen," or peasant, possesses some of the most necessary traits of a soldier. He is obedient, amenable to discipline, enduring under privation, and absolutely submissive to his superiors, from the drill commands of the Sergeant to the will of Almighty God Himself, who arranged all things for the soldier only as they should be.

The Turkish "askair," or private, is in nature simple, honest, lovable, and peaceful until he is fighting for country and religion. Then he can weather a hail of shrapnel with an unwavering, and even fiendish, courage. He believes and fears that the Russian—the traditional foe of the Ottoman—is descending upon his nation to try to swallow it up and that the Englishman from the south is assisting the Northern Bear in the attempt to destroy his home.

The Ottoman army may be divided into three parts: the fighting branch, composed of Turkish peasants in the main; the Greek, Jewish, and mixed-blood section, employed on construction work, such as roads; and the Armenian section,

which is naturally too hostile to be trusted on any work outside of grave digging.

The character of the farmer soldier may best be illustrated by some stories from the city barracks, the hospitals, and the front. Almost all the large cities of the empire were garrisoned during the war, Constantinople in particular, as it was a base for reserve and transient troops. As the existing barracks were inadequate for the number of troops, every possible empty or requisitioned house, palace, mosque, hotel, dive, or tumbledown dwelling was at intervals used for quarters.

The commissariat was simplified to black bread, olives, and perhaps daily a soup stew. Uniforms were generally kept complete by making the initial kit regulation for constant and indefinite use. Pay consisted of 2 piastres (8 cents) a month at the beginning of the war. Later this was changed into an extra loaf of bread each day, which a soldier could sell. At the Stamboul bazaar a loaf of bread with a chunk bitten out of it was auctioned off at 6 piastres! The bread conditions varied. Generally the normal price of 6 cents a loaf was kept in force by the Government, and, with the exception of intervals when grain transportation was held up for military reasons, the supply was sufficient.

Pastimes of Turkish Soldiers

The soldier in his quarters had many privations owing to lack of the necessities of life. As comfort and luxury were unknown to him, he could not miss them. Drink was seldom even heard of among Moslem soldiers. Cigarettes were always in evidence and were furnished by the Government at 3 cents a package of

twenty for the "sixth" best quality. "Kef" was, of course, a great pastime, corresponding to the Italian "dolce far niente," and the sweet nothings a midshipman may think of lying in his bunk the ten minutes after reveille.

Story telling was another pastime. The Turkish sense of humor is ever ready, easy to satisfy, and appreciative. Here, for instance, are some of the Nasradin Hodja stories, as told by the mythical Turkish humorist:

Nasradin, the teacher, one day sent three pounds of meat to his wife for supper. Upon his return home he asked for the meat, but his wife, who had eaten it, said to him, "Oh, Kodjam, the meat is gone."

"Gone? Where?" demanded the Hodja.

"The cat ate it," replied his wife.

"Bring here the cat," said Nasradin.

The cat was produced, and Nasradin commanded sternly that it be weighed. The cat weighed three pounds.

"Oh, hanoum," cried Nasradin, "if this is the cat, where is the meat? If this is the meat, where is the cat?"

Another story probably had its origin among other than Turkish soldiers. One day Allah called up Mohammed on the telephone and asked him to go below and stop the war. But Mohammed replied that he could only stop his own people and that by doing so he would expose them to destruction by the Christians. The Christians, on the other hand, if they stopped fighting, would be destroyed by the Mohammedans. Therefore Allah called up Moses, but Moses replied that he had no influence on the war, because all the Jews had paid their exemption taxes.

"Alas, alas!" cried Allah; "I would go down and stop the war myself if the Kaiser would not, while I was away, seize my place!"

Another yarn was told of a Turkish soldier who died for his country at Gallipoli. As the supply of houris in his paradise had long ago become inadequate for the number of resurrected heroes, he made his way to the gate of heaven and knocked loudly for St. Peter. The gate was finally opened, and St. Peter grudgingly

asked what was wanted, as heaven for the moment was full.

"I want to come in," replied the soldier.

"Have you a special permit or any contraband to declare?" asked St. Peter.

"Yes, Effendi. I have a Turkish police pass, but no contraband."

St. Peter examined the pass closely, and, calling his clerk, told him to search the record. After reading the record St. Peter said: "No, you can't enter here; the police pass says you were killed at the battle of Sedul-bahr and the record says that the official Turkish communiqué states for that battle that on the Turkish side only a donkey and a camel were wounded."

That story suggests another of a soldier in a hospital at Constantinople who kept up a clamor for a medal for having been the only soldier in a certain battle that nearly died for his country from the kick of a mule.

Caring for the Wounded

When the fighting at Gallipoli was at its height the hospitals in the capital were overflowing with wounded. The number of doctors and the supply of medicaments were then pitifully inadequate. Emergency dressings put on at the peninsula were not replaced by proper bandages until the men arrived at Constantinople. In one hospital in Scutari the wounded came in so fast that over a hundred cases had to be doubled up in the beds, and mixtures of wounded and typhoid, pneumonia, and dysentery cases had to be put in the same wards.

Young students in the medical school were given responsible work. Pharmacists were commissioned as doctors, and dentists as veterinary surgeons. A story is told of a dentist who was put in charge of eleven sick camels to nurse them back to health and strength. Not knowing how to make them kneel, he was forced to use a ladder in dressing the hump chafings. Upon being asked one day by a friend as to the progress of his work, he replied: "Oh, they will soon be all right; Allah has provided; eight have died already, and the other three won't last much longer!"

The hospital systems, considering the means available, were as well run as could be expected. During the rush work American and English women in the capital assisted as nurses. One of them said that the patience of the men under suffering was unlimited, that when a man was writhing in agony it was rare that he would cry out or even groan. Some times there would be a confused muttering of "Allah! oh, Allah, Allah!" but that was all.

They had great sympathy for one another. If it was evident from a man's expression and involuntary shrinking that the dressing of his wound or tearing away of the old bandage was unusually painful, men would raise themselves in their cots from all sides and watch with pitying eyes, sometimes even with their faces contorted with sympathetic suffering. Few could read, and those few seemed never-tiring in their willingness to help less fortunate brothers. Going through the wards, one could always find groups of convalescents around the bed of a learned neighbor, who would be reading old papers, letters, and scraps of all sorts to his eager audience.

Their love of flowers was surprising to a stranger. If a bouquet were left by a visitor on the table of a ward, in a very short time the vase would be empty and the flowers could be found tied to the bedposts or lying on the coverlet of a man who was not able to hold them, but could still enjoy the fragrance. Some women brought armfuls of flowers to the hospitals each week. It was touching to see the interest some of the men took in choosing just their particular kind and color from the pile. Sometimes they would hide their gift and pretend that they had been overlooked, begging for another by the never-failing sign language. Some one who exchanged a usual burden of flowers for oranges said that she was greeted with distinctly less enthusiasm than usual.

One old soldier had lost one arm and had but one finger left on the hand of the other. This finger he very proudly named his "Padischah," which signifies the Sultan, or the "only one."

Another soldier, with both legs amputated, was in great distress when he received a letter from his wife saying that she was in great need. After an anxious moment a happy thought struck him. "Allah has provided!" he exclaimed to the doctor. "Will you write to her, hakim, and tell her that all will be well, for now she can sell my Friday pants!"*

During the Winter of 1915 typhus spread among the soldiers in many districts. It was brought to the cities by recruits from the interior. While visiting a cemetery in Constantinople a gang of Armenians was found, over forty strong, digging graves and burying the dead for one hospital, from which the bodies arrived at the rate of over 130 a day. That scene, with the numaur, or priest, muttering prayers from his Koran at a safe distance, as the shrunken, withered corpses of the typhus victims, wrapped only in a layer of cheesecloth, were dropped side by side in long trenches, left a permanent impression of what war can bring.

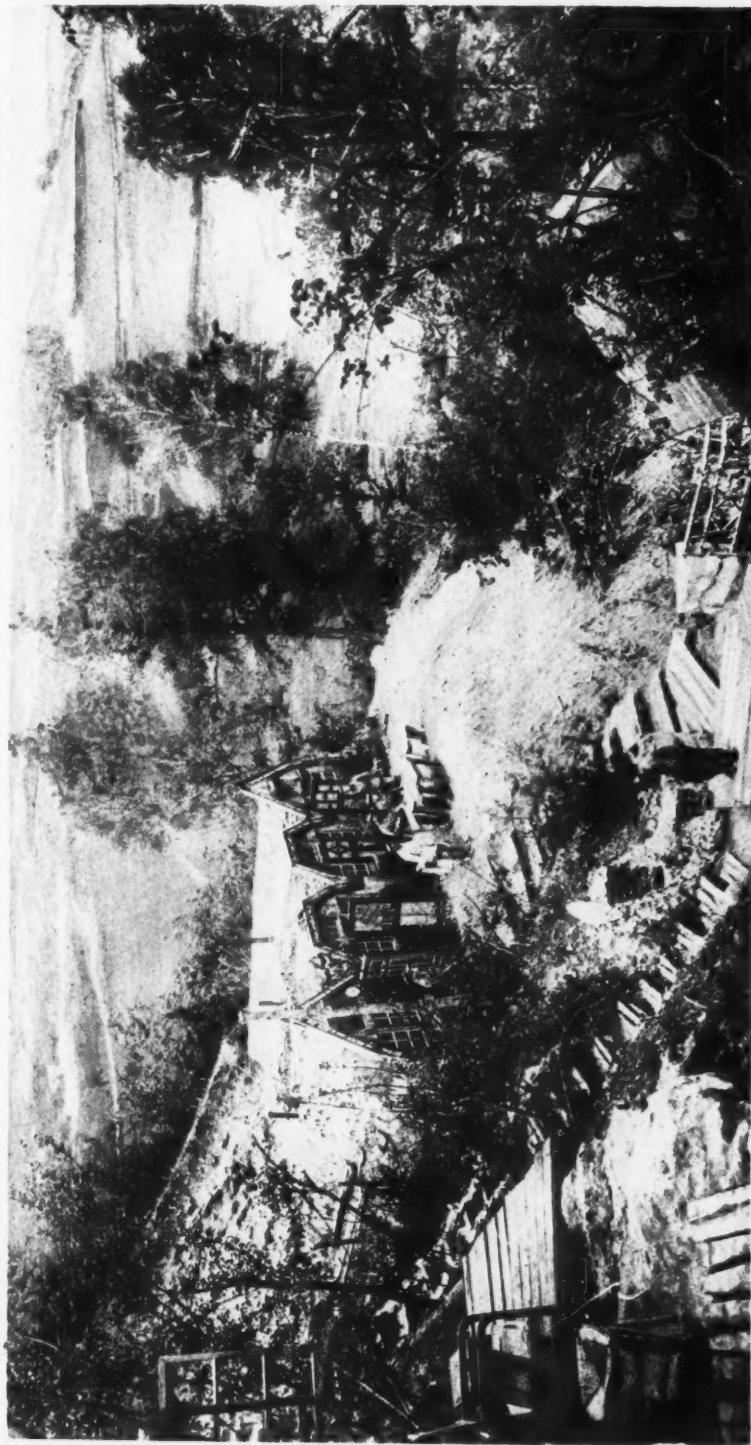
Humane Acts at the Front

Of the conduct of the Turkish soldiers at the front many have read: perhaps of the time in Mesopotamia when, on evacuating a position, water was left in skins marked by the Ottomans, "for the wounded"; also of the time at Fellahié in Irak, when some English soldiers were caught between the trenches, too severely wounded to move and under a broiling sun that would have killed them, without water and shade. When the rescuers ran forward to recover them, exposing themselves directly in the line of fire, there was not a shot fired at them.

Once during a walk by moonlight between two Turkish villages a rickety soldier's cart overtook me. As I climbed aboard the two soldiers moved up to make room and wished me good evening, apologizing in a crude way for the lack of a seat. One of them rolled a cigarette. Instead of smoking it, he asked me to take it. I thanked him, and, as I left them at the crossroads, gave him my bag of tobacco. It was an interesting picture, as walking down the road I could

*Turkish Sunday occurs on Friday.

ELABORATE GERMAN WINTER QUARTERS BACK OF THE SOMME FRONT



Substantial Shelters for German Officers and Reserve Troops, Erected Beyond Range of the British and French Guns.

(© Brown & Dawson.)

AN AUSTRIAN OUTPOST IN THE HIGH ALPS



This Lonely Sentinel Is Equipped with a "Snow Shirt" to Render Him Less Visible to the Enemy, a Device Adopted by Both Austrians and Italians in the Alps; also by the Germans on the Russian Front.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

see the two soldiers salaaming and thanking, with the wagon silhouetted in the moonlight, and the soldiers chuckling over the bag. They not only offered to drive out of their way to take me to my destination, but invited me first to go to camp with them and be presented to their German commander, to whom, judging by their conversation, they seemed devoted. Unfortunately I had other views on the type of introduction that would be appropriate.

At the front there were hardships to bear that would not be possible to realize from mere description. They must be seen or experienced. At the Dardanelles there were times when, as in most military expeditions, the food gave out. During the Winter there was no food for two days in a section of the Gallipoli trenches. At one time in the Caucasus region the soldiers were so hungry that part of them deserted to the Russians simply from seeing loaves of bread stuck on the bayonets of the enemy to tempt them as the food projected over the trenches. The cold there was so bitter that at night there were occasions when the sentry could not stand watch over ten minutes on account of the danger of freezing. There was almost no coal or wood there. The fuel used was dried cow manure. The uniforms were made from raw sheepskins, including coverings for the feet. The typhus at Erzeroun carried off over 300 soldiers daily during that Winter of 1915, and in that region the losses exceeded 200,000 from that disease. The mortality was close to 90

per cent. The details of these conditions were related by Turkish officers who had been through them.

Victims of Vast Causes

One may ask, Why should these men have suffered and died? What did these poor, ignorant, honest toilers of the soil know of the quadruple alliance? What did they know of the fact that the extension of German influence in the Orient might, by a combination of four countries, lead to the development of a powerful empire which would cut Europe in half and possess naval bases on every important body of water adjacent to Europe, with the exception of the White Sea? His was not to know, simply to obey. Rarely among these peasants was there insubordination, and never mutiny. With obedience and loyalty to their officers, even under the severest discipline and untold privations, these soldiers gave their lives unflinchingly for country and religion. They possessed ideals that were more to them than life itself.

The Turkish soldier in this war has surprised his enemies and prevented changes in geography and history that many had counted on. He has shown that the best man is the one who, when enduring most and when in greatest need, can keep his courage and fight the same. Though he has been somewhat overlooked among so many heroic high lights, he deserves to be remembered and appreciated, and, whatever may be his ultimate fate, he has earned a fair page in history.



President Wilson's Senate Address on Permanent Peace

PRESIDENT Wilson appeared unexpectedly before the United States Senate on Jan. 22 and delivered the following important address, at the same time announcing that the text of the speech had been transmitted to the American Ambassadors accredited to all the belligerent nations of Europe:

Gentlemen of the Senate: On the 18th of December last I addressed an identic note to the Governments of the nations now at war requesting them to state, more definitely than they had yet been stated by either group of belligerents, the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace. I spoke on behalf of humanity and of the rights of all neutral nations like our own, many of whose most vital interests the war puts in constant jeopardy.

The Central Powers united in a reply which stated merely that they were ready to meet their antagonists in conference to discuss terms of peace.

The Entente Powers have replied much more definitely, and have stated, in general terms, indeed, but with sufficient definiteness to imply details, the arrangements, guarantees, and acts of reparation which they deem to be the indispensable conditions of a satisfactory settlement.

We are that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the present war. We are that much nearer the discussion of the international concert which must thereafter hold the world at peace. In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by some definite concert of power, which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man, must take that for granted.

I have sought this opportunity to address you because I thought that I owed it to you, as the council associated with me in the final determination of our international obligations, to disclose to you without reserve the thought and purpose that have been taking form in my mind in regard to the duty of our Government in those days to come when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among the nations.

America's Participation Certain

It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise. To take part in such a service will be the opportunity for which

they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their polity and the approved practices of their Government, ever since the days when they set up a new nation in the high and honorable hope that it might in all that it was and did show mankind the way to liberty. They cannot, in honor, withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. They do not wish to withhold it. But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they will feel free to render it.

That service is nothing less than this—to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world. Such a settlement cannot now be long postponed. It is right that before it comes this Government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a league for peace. I am here to attempt to state those conditions.

Need Force to Make Peace Secure

The present war must first be ended, but we owe it to candor and to a just regard for the opinion of mankind to say that, so far as our participation in guarantees of future peace is concerned, it makes a great deal of difference in what way and upon what terms it is ended. The treaties and agreements which bring it to an end must embody terms which will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving, a peace that will win the approval of mankind, not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the nations engaged.

We shall have no voice in determining what those terms shall be, but we shall, I feel sure, have a voice in determining whether they shall be made lasting or not by the guarantees of a universal covenant, and our judgment upon what is fundamental and essential as a condition precedent to permanency should be spoken now, not afterward, when it may be too late.

No covenant of co-operative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war, and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing.

The elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American Governments, elements consistent with their political faith and the practical conviction which the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend.

I do not mean to say that any American

Government would throw any obstacle in the way of any terms of peace the Governments now at war might agree upon, or seek to upset them when made, whatever they might be. I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between the belligerents will not satisfy even the belligerents themselves. Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected, that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guarantee can be secured. The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this:

Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be not only a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.

Fortunately, we have received very explicit assurances on this point. The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said, in terms that could not be misinterpreted, that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all, may not be the same on both sides of the water. I think it will be serviceable if I attempt to set forth what we understand them to be.

Peace Without Victory

They imply first of all that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory, upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand.

Only a peace between equals can last; only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed

questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded, if it is to last, must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend.

Equality of territory, of resources, there, of course, cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of rights among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.

I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of Governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own.

I speak of this not because of any desire to exalt an abstract political principle which has always been held very dear by those who have sought to build up liberty in America, but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace, which seem to me clearly indispensable—because I wish frankly to uncover realities. Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset. It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constantly against it, and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquillity of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.

Access and Freedom of the Seas

So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling toward a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right

comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the sine qua non of peace, equality, and co-operation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto sought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them.

The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the Governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the co-operation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe.

Limiting Armaments

And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programs of military preparation. Difficult and delicate as these questions are, they must be faced with the utmost candor and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings and come to stay.

Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armies are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained. The statesmen of the world must plan for peace and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve, and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. Perhaps I am the only person in high authority among all the peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking also, of course, as the responsible head of a great Government, and I feel confident that I have said what the

people of the United States would wish me to say.

May I not add that I hope and believe that I am, in effect, speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

And in holding out the expectation that the people and the Government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named, I speak with the greater boldness and confidence because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfillment rather of all that we have professed or striven for.

Monroe Doctrine for the World

I am proposing that all nations henceforth should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: That no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competition of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose, all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

These are American principles, American policies. We can stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail.

Criticism of the President's Plan for "Peace Without Victory"

PRESIDENT WILSON'S address to the Senate on Jan. 22 aroused animated comment alike in the belligerent countries and in the United States. The Entente nations took vigorous exception to the phrase "peace without victory," and the Teutonic Powers, while rejoicing in that aspect, looked with disfavor upon the President's suggestion of autonomy for all nationalities, notably for the Poles. In the United States, on the other hand, the idea of abandoning the Monroe Doctrine and casting in our lot with a worldwide league for peace aroused deep and earnest dissent in many quarters. Pacifists everywhere praised the address. The vast variety of the comment it provoked is indicated by the fact that some of the President's admirers declared it to be the most important pronouncement of an American Executive since that of the Monroe Doctrine, while some of his critics called him a "German catspaw" and said his speech would "make Don Quixote wish he hadn't died so soon."

German opinion was generally favorable, but cautious in expressing itself. The President's views on "freedom of the seas" and on "peace without victory" were received with satisfaction, but German officials both in Washington and in Berlin refrained from public utterances on the subject. The press summary of Germany's view was to the effect that President Wilson's step, though well meant, was unsuitable for discussion at a time when the attitude of the Entente was making prosecution of the war inevitable.

Count Tisza's Reply

The Hungarian Premier, Count Stephen Tisza, made the frankest official reply for the Teutonic Powers when he said (Jan. 24) in answer to a question in the Parliament at Budapest:

In view of the fact that President Wilson in his address makes certain distinctions between our reply and our enemies' reply, I must especially state that the quadruple al-

liance declares that it is inclined to enter into peace negotiations, but at the same time it will propose terms which, in its opinion, are acceptable for the enemy and calculated to serve as a basis for a lasting peace.

On the other hand, the conditions of peace contained in our enemies' reply to the United States are equivalent at least to the disintegration of our monarchy and of the Ottoman Empire. This amounts to an official announcement that the war aims at our destruction, and we are, therefore, forced to resist with our utmost strength as long as this is the war aim of our enemies.

In such circumstances it cannot be doubted which group of powers by its attitude is the obstacle to peace, and this group approximates to President Wilson's conception. The President opposes a peace imposed by a conqueror, which one party would regard as a humiliation and an intolerable sacrifice. From this it follows clearly that so long as the powers opposed to us do not substantially change their war aims an antagonism that cannot be bridged stands between their viewpoint and the President's peace aims.

My second observation has to do with the principle of nationalities. I desire to be brief; therefore I will not dilate on the question of what moral justification England and Russia have to lay stress on the principle of nationalities in a peace program, which would destroy the Hungarian Nation and deliver the Mohammedan population of the Bosphorus region into Russian domination. But I say that the whole public opinion in Hungary holds to the principle of nationalities in honor.

The principle of nationalities in the formation of national States, however, can only prevail unrestrictedly where single nations live within sharply marked ethnographical boundaries in compact masses and in regions suited to the organization of a State. In territories where various races live intermingled it is impossible that every single race can form a national State. In such territories it would only be possible to create a State without national character, or one in which a race by its numbers and importance predominates, thus imprinting its national character.

In such circumstances, therefore, only that limited realization of the principle of nationalities is possible which the President of the United States rightly expresses in demanding that security of life and religion and individual and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples. I believe that nowhere is this demand realized to such a degree as in both States of the monarchy. I believe that in the regions of Southeastern

Europe, which are inhabited by a varied mixture of peoples and nations, the demand for free development of nations cannot be more completely realized than it is by the existence and domination of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

We feel ourselves, therefore, completely in agreement with the President's demands. We shall strive for the realization as far as possible of this principle in the regions lying in our immediate neighborhood. I can only repeat that, true to our traditional foreign policy and true to the standpoint we took in our peace action in conjunction with our allies, we are ready to do everything that will guarantee to the peoples of Europe the blessings of a lasting peace.

Ruffini Answers for Italy

Italy's answer to the President's utterance took the form of a published statement from Francesco Ruffini, Minister of Public Instruction, reported in a cable dispatch from Rome on Jan. 28. After stating that Italy heartily approved the idea of free nationalities, Signor Ruffini added that the aims of Italy in this regard were indispensable conditions of peace. He continued:

Italy having laboriously emerged from bondage by driving out the Austrians, has among her war aims the attainment of complete unity. This is justified historically, and its completion will be a proper act, because Italy does not wish to live by the grace of others. She has already been able to constitute her national solidarity, and is working today to settle finally the question of her unity.

President Wilson could not find a better exemplification of these principles than the war in which Italy is fighting beside her allies. Italy's aims can be attained only by victory, since her enemy never for an instant has hidden or modified the principles of tyranny and oppression which would negate absolutely the principles proclaimed by the President.

In fact, the statement of Premier Tisza of Hungary shows that Austria-Hungary not only wishes to continue oppression of the various nationalities, but desires to extend it to the Balkans, over Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania. All this is monstrous, and particularly repulsive to Italy, whose situation, on account of the Italians still under Austrian rule, is unique. These Italians do not form a separate nation subject to Austria, like Bohemia, but are a suffering and bleeding part of a nation the greatest part of which has attained its freedom. Italy would be unworthy of her liberty and strength if she permitted unchanging Austria forever to grind down her Italian brethren.

Americans, who enjoy entire independence, cannot fail to understand Italy's position in

the conflict—why Italy cannot lay down her arms until a common victory signalizes realization of those aims which are indispensable conditions for a future peace. It is inadmissible that lasting peace could emerge from a situation which would represent the consolidation of oppression and violence. It is inadmissible that the just desire for peace which inspires even neutrals could coincide with submission to brutal and truculent power.

Comments of Entente Powers

The preponderance of sentiment in the Entente countries was unfavorable, if not actively hostile, to the proposition of "peace without victory." The French press generally praised President Wilson's ideals, but pronounced them Utopian and incapable of bringing peace to the world in the present crisis. The British newspapers were respectfully hostile, with very few exceptions. The phrase "freedom of the seas" was as unwelcome as "peace without victory." Frederic Harrison published in *The Morning Post* a satirical fable in the form of a letter in which the Emperor of Brazil was represented as having written to President Lincoln in the darkest hour of the American civil war, urging "peace without victory" and the rest of it. The official reply of the British Government to the President's utterance was made by Bonar Law and is published in full elsewhere in these pages.

Russia was politely appreciative, but the press generally agreed in saying that the President's address brought peace no nearer. The Russian Foreign Office at Petrograd issued this formal statement

Russia always has been in full sympathy with the broad humanitarian principles expressed by the President of the United States, and his message to the Senate, therefore, has made a most favorable impression upon the Russian Government. Russia will welcome all suitable measures which will help prevent a recurrence of the world war. Accordingly we can gladly indorse President Wilson's communication.

President Wilson's views on free access to the seas find an advocate in Russia, because she considers it necessary to have free access to the seas.

The President's proposal regarding limited armament has the support of Russia, who made representations of this nature at The Hague Conference. In expressing these convictions the President of the United States

is at the same time expressing the point of view of Russia.

The Russian Government notes with satisfaction that President Wilson makes a sharp contrast between the definite reply of the Entente Allies to his first communication and the evasive note of the Central Powers.

Russia already has definitely announced her unalterable determination regarding the future of Poland. The Russian Emperor has declared that one of the objects of the war is a free Poland, consisting now of three separated provinces.

As to the nature of the peace to be concluded, whether it be a peace without victory or not, one should remember that it never has been the aim of the Allies to crush their enemies, and that they have never insisted upon victory in that sense over Germany. It is Germany who has taken that point of view and who wishes to dictate peace as a victor.

Arouses Debate at Home

President Wilson's address called forth a violent diversity of opinion in the United States. The cleavage for the most part followed party lines. Leading Democratic newspapers pronounced the utterance epoch-making, a message to mankind, a summary of the broad principles of liberty and justice upon which alone a durable peace is possible. Republican papers for the most part condemned it as untimely, harmful, or at best an "oration on the millennium." Elihu Root declared himself in sympathy with the President's ideals, but added that our entry into a league for peace would be worthless and meaningless without ships and soldiers to do our part in enforcing its mandates. Theodore Roosevelt issued an attack on the President's proposition, concluding with this passage:

When fear of the German submarine next moves Mr. Wilson to declare for "peace without victory" between the tortured Belgians and their cruel oppressors and taskmasters, when such fear next moves him to utter the shameful untruth that each side is fighting for the same things, and to declare for neutrality between wrong and right, let him think of the prophetess Deborah, who, when Sisera mightily oppressed the children of Israel with his chariots of iron, and when the people of Meroz stood neutral between the oppressed and the oppressor, sang of them:

"Curse ye, Meroz, said the Angel of the Lord, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

President Wilson has earned for this nation the curse of Meroz, for he has not dared to stand on the side of the Lord against the wrongdoings of the mighty.

In the Senate the President's address, especially the portion of it relating to our entrance into a world league to enforce peace, aroused Republican opposition, which took formal shape in a resolution introduced by Senator Cummins of Iowa, calling for a discussion of the President's proposals. The resolution was combated by the Democratic leaders, and finally on Jan. 30 it was tabled by a strict party vote of 38 to 30.

Meanwhile, Senator Borah of Idaho introduced a somewhat different resolution on Jan. 25, calling upon the Senate to reaffirm its faith in the Monroe Doctrine and in the policy of nonintermeddling in European politics advocated by Washington and Jefferson. At his own request the resolution was allowed to lie on the table to be called up whenever he wished to discuss it. In a public address in Washington the next day he denounced the President's peace league idea as vicious and dangerous, stating his reasons for this belief in part as follows:

If the people of this country want to enter European politics, take part in European controversies, become entangled in its dynastic dissensions; if they want to furnish money and soldiers, ships and men to be subject to the call of some tribunal or league, in which tribunal we will have but one vote, very well. The people have a right to enter that perilous course if they choose, for this is the people's Government. But let us understand perfectly what it means before we take the step. Let us not be deceived nor deceive ourselves. We should debate and consider every step before we take it, for these are the steps which once taken it is impossible for a people to retrace.

Once in the maelstrom of European politics, it will be almost impossible to get out. Once involved in the matter of economically boycotting or in the matter of enforcing decrees of military force, it will be practically impossible to get back to the policy under which we have lived and strengthened for more than a century.

The whole subject was swept into the background shortly afterward by Germany's proclamation of unrestricted submarine warfare and the breaking of diplomatic relations with that Government.

Bonar Law's Answer to President Wilson's Speech on Permanent Peace

ANDREW BONAR LAW, Chancellor of the Exchequer and member of the British War Council, delivered an address at Bristol on Jan. 24 in which he made this frank reply to President Wilson's Senate message:

The end of war is peace. The Germans made us what they have called an offer of peace. It received from the allied Governments the reply which it deserved—the only possible reply.

Most of you have, however, I presume, read the speech by President Wilson, which appeared in yesterday's papers. It is a frank speech, and it is right that any member of one of the allied Governments who refers to it should speak with equal frankness. It is impossible that he and we can look on it from the same point of view.

The head of a great neutral nation, whatever his private views may be—and I know as little as any of you what they are—must adopt a neutral attitude. America is very far removed from the horrors of this war. We are in the midst of them. America is neutral; we are not neutral. We believe that the essence of this conflict is a question which is as old as time—the difference between right and wrong. We believe, we know that this is a war of naked aggression, that crimes which have accompanied the conduct of the war, which have been unknown in the world for centuries, are small in comparison with the initial crime of plunging the world into war by cold-blooded calculation because those responsible thought it would pay.

President Wilson's speech had this aim—to gain peace now and secure peace for the future. That is our aim, and our only aim. He hoped to secure this by a league of peace, and he not only spoke in favor of such a league, but he is trying to induce the American Senate to take the steps necessary to give effect to it. It would not be right to regard this proposal as something altogether Utopian.

You know that almost up to our own day dueling continued, and just as the settling of private disputes by the sword has now become unthinkable, so, I think, we may hope that the time will come when all the nations of the world will play the part which Cromwell described as his life work—to act as constable and keep peace. That time will come, I hope.

But this whole subject is not an abstract

question for the future. It is a question of life and death now. In judging whether that result can be secured by his methods it is impossible for us to forget the past. For generations humane men, men of good-will among all nations, have striven by The Hague Convention, by peace conferences, and by all other means to make war impossible, or at least to mitigate the horrors of war. When war comes, by what means can these barriers built up against barbarism be made effective? They cannot be preserved by the belligerents, if any of them choose to ignore them. It is only from neutral States that effective sanction can be given to them.

What happened? At the very outbreak of the war the Germans swept aside every one of these barriers. They tore up treaties which they had themselves solemnly signed. They strewn mines in the open sea. They committed every atrocity on sea and land against The Hague Convention, which they had themselves signed. They made war on women and children. They destroyed neutrals as ruthlessly as they did their enemies. They are at this moment driving the population of conquered territories into slavery, and, worse even than that, they are making some of the subjects of their enemies take up arms against their own country.

All this has been done, and no neutral power has been able to stop it. No neutral power, indeed, has made any protest against it. We must, then, take other means to secure the future peace of the world.

We have rejected the German offer to enter into negotiations, not from lust of conquest or desire for shining victories. We have rejected it, not from a spirit of vindictiveness, or a desire for revenge, but because peace now would mean a peace based on [German?] victory. It would be a peace which would leave the military machine unbroken, with the halo of success surrounding it. It would leave the control of that machine in the hands of the same men who for a generation prepared for war, who would make the same preparation again, and who would choose their own time to plunge the world into the horrors which we are now enduring.

Our aims are the same as President Wilson's. What he is longing for we are fighting for, our sons and brothers are risking their lives for, and we mean to secure it. The hearts of the people of this country are longing for peace. We are praying for peace, for a peace which will bring back to us in safety those who are fighting our battles, and a peace which will mean that those who will not come back have not laid down their lives in vain.

Will Russia Make a Separate Peace?

Russia's Official Reply

FOLLOWING is the official reply made in the Duma by N. N. Pokrovsky, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the German peace proposal of Dec. 12. It has been specially translated from the Russian for **CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE**:

Gentlemen of the Duma: Coming before you immediately after my appointment to the office of Minister of Foreign Affairs, I cannot, of course, give you a complete and detailed account of the present political situation. But I feel myself under obligation to inform you, by the wish of his Majesty, of the relation of the Russian Government to the step of our enemies which you learned from last night's telegrams.

Words concerning peace, resounding from the camp on which lies all the heavy responsibility for kindling this world conflagration, unprecedented in history, in spite of their strangeness, were not unexpected by the Allies.

During the two and a half years that the war has lasted, Germany has repeatedly spoken of peace. She has spoken of it to her armies and to her people, before each aggressive operation that was to decide the war. After each military success, which did not bring a wider success, she felt out the ground for peace, now on this, now on that side. And the press of neutral countries was very active in the same direction. But all these attempts, set in motion by the Germans, met with a quiet and decided refusal.

At the present time, since she has lost all hope of smashing a breach in our indissoluble alliance, Germany comes forward with an official proposal to begin peace negotiations.

In order to be able to estimate the value of this proposal, we must consider both its character and the circumstances under which it has been made. In reality, the German proposal contains no substantive indications of the character of the peace which is referred to in it. It repeats the worn-out legend that the war was forced upon the Central Empires. The victories of the Austro-German armies are spoken of, and the impossibility of resisting them. Proposing, therefore, to enter into peace negotiations, the Central Powers express the conviction that the conditions which they would be able to accept must guarantee the existence, honor, and free development of "their" peoples, and that these conditions will suffice to establish world peace. This is all the communication contains, except the threat to continue the war to a victorious end, and, in case of our refusal, to transfer to us and to our allies the responsibility for further bloodshed.

Under what circumstances do the Germans make this proposal? The armies of our enemies have devastated and occupied Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, a part of France, Russia, and Rumania. The Austro-Germans have just announced the autonomy of a part of Poland, and are trying in this way to get the whole Polish people into their hands. For whom, except for Germany, can such a situation be favorable for beginning peace negotiations?

But the motives of Germany's action become still clearer if we take into consideration the internal situation of our enemy. To try at the last moment to gain an advantage from his temporary seizures of territory, before his internal weakness has become manifest—this is the real purpose of the German proposal. In case of failure, our enemies will use the refusal of our allies to make peace, to raise the fainting spirits of their people.

There is also another illogical aim—in their failure to comprehend the true spirit which inspires Russia, our enemies flatter themselves with the hope that among us cowards may be found who, even for a moment, may allow themselves to be deceived by lying proposals. This will not happen!

No Russian heart is quaking. With greater unity than before will all Russia rise and stand like a wall around its supreme leader, who, at the beginning of the war, declared that "he would not make peace until the last enemy soldier had left Russian soil."

With still greater energy will the Russian Government strive to master the problems announced at your first meeting, the performance of the common task, as the only true means of reaching the goal dear to the heart of each of us—the final conquest of our enemy!

And the Russian Government rejects with indignation the thought of the base possibility of ceasing the struggle now, and merely giving to Germany the possibility of availing herself of the last chance to subject all Europe to her hegemony. All the countless sacrifices that we have made would be rendered unavailing by the premature conclusion of peace with an enemy whose forces are impaired but not yet rendered innocuous, and who seeks a breathing spell under the lying pretext of peace.

In this unshakable determination, Russia finds herself in complete unity of spirit with her glorious allies. We are all penetrated with the necessity, vital for us, of bringing the war to a victorious issue. And on that path we shall not allow ourselves to be stopped by any craft of our enemies.

The declaration of the Minister of Foreign Affairs received the unanimous

support of the Duma. The Council of State, after hearing the communication of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, resolved:

Having heard the communication of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Council of State unanimously joins in the decisive refusal of the Entente Governments to enter into peace discussions of any kind, in the present circumstances; and, believing, on their own part, that the German offer of peace is merely a further proof of the increasing weakness of our foes, and a hypocritical move, not calculated to bring any practical results, but to relieve the German Government of blame from German public opinion for beginning and continuing the war; that untimely peace would prove to be nothing but a brief armistice, bringing the danger of another sanguinary war and yet heavier sacrifices on the part of the people, and that a lasting peace is only possible after a definite victory over the military might of our foes, and after Germany has definitely renounced the tendencies which made it responsible for the world war with its accompanying horrors, the Council of State proceeds with the business of the day.

Pokrovsky's Later Address

M. Pokrovsky, the Foreign Minister, later made this further declaration regarding the policy of the Russian Government:

The course of Russia's foreign policy remains as before. No changes in the personnel of the Government can cause either change or hesitation with regard to the path chosen, once for all, for Russia to tread, in accordance to the directions traced by our supreme leader. War, fierce and unprecedented in its dimensions, continues as before to strain the strength of the contending nations to the utmost.

The attitude of the (Russian) Imperial Government toward the enemies' peace proposal was made known by my address before the Duma. That address pointed out that neither the contents of the recent proposal nor the circumstances under which it was made could admit of any conclusion except that the Germans desired to take advantage of their temporary territorial gains in order to raise the fainting spirits of their people in case the Allies refused to discuss peace; and, further, that they misunderstood the true spirit of Russia, if they have counted on the chance of faint-heartedness on our part.

President Wilson's Proposal

President Wilson's proposal concerning peace does not change the political situation created by the insincere and meaningless offer of peace made by Germany. We readily pay tribute to the humane purposes of

the President of the United States, and we realize how neutral interests are affected by the war, especially in view of the methods of the enemy. However, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the American proposal came almost at the same time as the German. Nominally, Germany's proposal is a peace proposal, but in reality it is a piece of military strategy, because, while stating no conditions of peace in its note, the German Government proudly stands forth as the conqueror. Peace negotiations with Germany under such circumstances would presuppose our acceptance of that fact. Yet we are not conquered, and consequently we cannot accept any such assumption. As a counterweight to the vain thoughts of the Germans, we can show, as a guarantee of the successful ending of the war, the brilliant valor of our army, tempered in the fire of heavy trials, and, behind the army, the whole mighty Russian Nation, permeated throughout by the single thought that our land must be saved and the freedom of our future development guaranteed.

The one pledge and condition of victory is the unshakable strength of the bond which unites us to our brother allies. On the banks of the Meuse and of the Somme, on the heights about Gorizia and the Macedonian front they press against our common foe, and Russia rejoices to pay the tribute of her just admiration to their bravery and their self-sacrifice. Each of the Allies knows what we owe to each other and how imperative is the necessity of our close union in order that our common cause may be successful. With unshaken fortitude Russia will fight hand in hand with her allies until the enemy is brought low.

When Peace Comes

More than this: When peace comes, Russia hopes to maintain close relations with her present friends. The entente with France and England, widened by the accession of Italy, will remain the cornerstone of our foreign policy even after the war. The proof of the strength of the bond between the Allies lies in the agreement concerning the future of Constantinople and the strait, mentioned by the Prime Minister in his declaration before the Duma.

The friendly and peaceful collaboration of all our present friends is highly desirable in the future on economic grounds, its foundation having been already laid at the recent international conference at Paris, during which the Allies invested in common the means of ridding themselves from German domination in the sphere of commerce and finance after the end of the war, all decisions being built on the idea of the free collaboration of the Allies.

An end must be put to the economic as well as to the political hegemony of Germany. For us one of the most important purposes of this war is to secure to Russia the opportunity to pursue our economic aims in free-

dom; until now we have been bound hand and foot by our commercial agreements with Germany. The future conditions of Russia's foreign trade should assure to us the untrammelled development of the inexhaustible productive resources of our land and the completion of our economic machinery.

The Balkan Nations

The interests of all Slavs will be ever near to Russia's heart. At present, more than ever before, Russia's strong support and help are particularly needed for the regeneration and national growth of the Slavonic nations who arose with us for the defense of right and justice.

Recent events in Greece have perturbed public opinion in Russia as well as abroad—and this is easily understood. From the very beginning of the war, the guaranteeing powers, in whose hands rests the fate of Greece, and to whom Greece owes her national existence, relying on the repeated assurances of the Greek Government, were without doubt justified in expecting from Greece, if not a friendly attitude toward themselves, at least conduct conforming to reason. But, owing to the intrigues of our enemies and the light-minded tolerance of the authorities, the magnanimity of the powers, whose attitude toward Greece was that of the strong toward the weak, was wrongly interpreted in certain circles in Greece and taken as a sign of weakness. You know the circumstances under which detachments of soldiers of our allies have been attacked in Athens and the strife and bloodshed thereby caused in the Athenian streets.

Besides, at this time the Allies cannot for one moment allow the possible creation of conditions contrary to their military existence. Accordingly, the powers have at present the intention to add to the measures already taken by them further measures of a more definitely military character, calculated to end the indecision of Greece.

As to Rumania: The expectation of our enemy that his easy geographical victories might confuse the Rumanian people, shaking their resolve to fight on in the ranks of the Allies, have not been realized in the slightest degree. The Rumanians have faced with fortitude and courage the temporary trials which were sent to them. You know, no doubt, that Russia has hastened in a whole-hearted way to the rescue of her ally. The participation of the Russian Nation with its army in the destiny of Rumania ought to dissipate the wicked insinuations of the enemy that Rumania has been abandoned to her fate. At present, more than ever, Russia and Rumania present an unbroken front, both politically and in a military sense.

Russia and Japan

In the Far East the chief factor of our international situation is our relation with Japan, a part of the general relation between the Allies. During the present war the Gov-

ernment of Japan continues to be of the utmost service to us, in the task of furnishing our armies with certain supplies, which can be mentioned only with the liveliest gratitude. Our political collaboration with Japan, under the agreement of July 30, 1916, completes the chain which binds Russia, France, England, and Japan together, and is the source of the perfect stability of the situation in the Far East.

The victorious termination of the world war is the goal on which all the faculties of Russia are bent. Russian public opinion realizes this quite clearly, and the Russian press faithfully reflects the general conviction. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs draws strength necessary for the arduous tasks intrusted to it from the firm belief that, in this historical moment of her growth, Russia will preserve all her rights unimpaired.

The Czar's Rescript

Emperor Nicholas of Russia addressed to Prince Galitzine, President of the Council of Ministers, the following important rescript, which was published at Petrograd on Jan. 21:

Having intrusted to you the responsible post of President of the Council of Ministers, I deem the time opportune to indicate to you the immediate problems whose solution should be the aim of the principal efforts of the Government.

In the present stage of the evolution of the great war all the thoughts of all the Russias without distinction of nationality or of class are directed toward the brave and glorious defenders of our country, who, with keen expectation, are awaiting the decisive encounter with the enemy. In absolute solidarity with our faithful allies, admitting no thought of peace before definitive victory, I believe firmly that the Russian people, supporting with abnegation the burden of this war, will do their duty to the last without stopping at any sacrifice.

The resources of Russia are inexhaustible. They eliminate the danger of the country's exhaustion, a danger which apparently confronts our adversaries. But the question of the distribution of provisions, which is so important, is evidently complicated under present conditions. I therefore especially charge the Government unified in your person to have care alike for the revictualing of my brave armies and for the lessening of the inevitable difficulties that attend the furnishing of military supplies back of the firing line in this world war of nations.

I trust that the common efforts of all members of the Government will be concentrated upon the realization and development on a large scale of the measures recently adopted to that end. The task of provisioning the armies and the population demands co-operation in the measures adopted both by the authorities at the front and by the dif-

ferent departments unified under the direction of the Council of Ministers.

Another problem to which I attach predominant importance is that of the administration and ultimate bettering of railway and river transport. The Council of Ministers should work out decisive measures in this domain, assuring the complete utilization of all means of transport, in order to be able to furnish promptly all the necessary supplies for the army, both at the front and at the rear, thanks to the co-ordinated activities of all departments.

While indicating to you these immediate problems for your attention and labor, it gives me pleasure to believe that the activities of the Council of Ministers under your Presidency will have the support of the Imperial Council and of the Duma, united in a unanimous and ardent desire to carry on the war to a victorious end. I consider it the duty of all persons called to the service of the State to act with good-will, justice, and dignity as regards legislative institutions.

In the coming activities in organizing the nation's economic life the Government will find an indispensable support in the zemstvos, which, by their labors in time of peace and in time of war, have proved that they piously cherish the brilliant traditions of my grandfather, the Emperor Alexander II. of imperishable memory.

Turkey's Note to Neutrals

At the time when Germany and Austria issued notes to the neutrals in virtual retort to the Entente's reply of Dec. 12 to President Wilson, Turkey followed suit

with a note which has finally reached the public through the French press. After remarking that Turkey has no reason to desire a hasty end of the war, "since no part of its territory is occupied by the enemy," the note continues:

The world knows the pretensions of France regarding Syria and Alsace-Lorraine, of Russia regarding Constantinople, the strait, and a great part of Anatolia, and the pretensions of England regarding Mesopotamia and Arabia. Equally well known are the intrigues of the Entente to hinder the natural development of Turkey. The Entente's plan of partition is contrary to the principle of nationalities, for the Entente no longer concerns itself with such principles when it is a matter of its own interests. The English protectorate over Egypt is contrary to those principles, for the Egyptian population has no relation with the English race. The annexation of Egypt, which is not English; the annexation of Tripoli, which is not Italian; the fantastic plan of Russia regarding Constantinople and the basin of the Sea of Marmora, a region whose inhabitants are largely Turkish and Mesopotamian—all these are violations of the principle of nationalities.

Like its allies, Turkey has been obliged to take up arms to defend its territory, its liberty, and its independence. Today, like its allies, Turkey believes its ends attained. The enemy powers, on the contrary, seeing the realization of their plans growing more and more remote, are correspondingly opposed to accepting reasonable propositions. The responsibility for the continuation of the sanguinary struggle must be laid at their door.

Vatican's Protest Against Belgian Deportations

A letter to Cardinal Mercier, written by the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri, states that Pope Benedict has appealed to Germany to return the deported Belgians. The letter was sent on Nov. 29, 1916, and was read from the pulpit by the famous Archbishop of Malines, but has only recently been published in other countries. Cardinal Gasparri wrote as follows to Cardinal Mercier:

"The Pontiff, whose fatherly heart is deeply moved by all the sufferings of the well-beloved Belgian people, has instructed me to inform your Eminence that, taking a vivid interest in your people, who have been so harshly put on trial, he has already pleaded in their favor with the Imperial German Government, and that he will do everything in his power in order that an end may be put to the deportations, and that those who have already been carried off far from their country may soon be back amid their mourning families.

"His Holiness has also been pleased to intrust me with the agreeable mission of sending to your Eminence and the faithful diocese of Malines his very special benediction."

Peace Propagandas of Past Centuries

By Dr. Alfred Fried

Editor of the official Peace Organ, Friedenswarte, published in Zurich, Switzerland

President Wilson's efforts toward permanent peace have aroused worldwide interest, but few of those who praise or condemn his ideas have been aware of the vast perspective of similar peace propagandas in past centuries. The story of these is ably summarized for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by Dr. Fried in the subjoined article.

THE idea of universal peace may be traced far back in the history of mankind. We find it appearing in the earliest ages of all peoples, and in the course of the centuries it has never been entirely obliterated. The idea, however, which lies at the bottom of the modern peace movement, concerning itself not merely with the glorification of peace and its advantages, but seeking for means by which to insure to mankind an establishment and perpetuation of its rights, began to make a distinct path for itself only when the modern idea of the State had begun to make itself felt. Not until State jurisprudence had found a firm footing could there be any thought of international jurisdiction or of any organization of civil corporations for the maintenance of peace.

The earliest traces of this idea lead us back to the great Utopians of the various empires of the world. A universal monarchy was the cherished idea of the apostles of peace of the Middle Ages and the earlier modern era. Many of the would-be reformers sought to establish universal peace by bringing the entire world under one yoke.

At the head of these peace precursors we find the great Dante, (1265-1321,) who in his book "De Monarchia" recommends a universal federation in which mankind was to live in peace and freedom under one monarch or President. Similar ideas appear now and again in the "Divina Commedia." Marsilius of Padua (1325) defended this idea, and the Abbé Honoré Bonnor, at the close of the fourteenth century, in his book the "Arbre de Bataille"—which he wrote at the suggestion of the French King, Charles the Wise—went so far as to advocate the subjection of his royal master to the Emperor, whom he regarded as the sole sov-

ern of the world. He supported his position by the teachings of the Bible.

On the threshold of modern times stands the Bohemian King, Podiebrad, who strove to bring about a European empire of peace between 1462 and 1463, the chief object of which was to be the subjugation of the Turks, who shortly before had overrun Europe. The inspirer of the idea was his Councilor, Anton de Marini of Grenoble. The leadership of this new Europe was to be assumed by the King of France. A federative council, to be chosen from the various nations, was to control the workings of this universal kingdom, and all controversies were to be settled by a court of arbitration. King Podiebrad's plan was shattered by the opposition it met from the Pope and the Emperor.

Peace Efforts of Erasmus

The great humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam (1467-1536) did not fail to touch upon the idea of universal peace in his writings. He was a declared enemy of warfare, and in his works "Adagia," (1498,) "Antipolemos," the "Substitutio Principis Christiani," (1516,) as well as in the "Querela Pacis," (1516,) attacked its horrors with vehemence and severity. Especially in the "Querela" he left on record one of the most remarkable polemics of all time against warfare, which he regarded as fratricide when participated in by Christians, and as something which could only appeal to heathen and barbarians. He suggested a scheme for a universal Kingdom of Europe, in which peace should be established and maintained. To the rulers of his age he made the following invocation: "Everything calls for peace, first of all the natural human emotions and feelings; secondly the teachings of Christ, the lawmaker

and author of all human happiness; and thirdly the multitude of advantages which peace brings in her train, compared with the many disadvantages of war. If you estimate the cost you will find, even when you have been the victors, that you have lost more than you have gained."

Thomas More, (1478-1535,) the friend and contemporary of Erasmus and the author of the famous "Utopia," gave expression to his ideas on the subject of warfare by the attitude which he allowed the inhabitants of his island to assume. He characterized war as "brutal savagery," and declared fame won in battle to be a disgrace. The Utopians carried on their wars by means of barbaric mercenaries, considering themselves much too good for participation in the same.

About the year 1518 the English Cardinal and statesman Wolsey (1474-1536) was fired by the ambition of carrying out the idea of King Podiebrad, by making his master, Henry VIII., the head of a universal monarchy. At the close of the sixteenth century Giulio Ferrero of Ravenna gave expression to the same idea in a book on the science of warfare published in Vienna; in this case, however, the Pope was to be the head of the peace federation.

Plans of Henry IV.

The ideas of the age found their most pregnant expression in the great plans framed by Henry IV. of France (1589-1610) for the establishment of a universal monarchy. His scheme involved a political system by which all of Europe was to be organized and ruled as one big family. In the year 1602 Henry IV. put himself in touch with Queen Elizabeth of England, who is said to have cherished the same idea, and who supported the plans of the French monarch. In his undertaking he also had the co-operation of his Minister Rosny, Duke of Sully, (1560-1641,) whose publication, entitled "Memoires des sages et royales economies d'estat Henry le Grand," first made known the scope of the King's plans. For a long time the opinion was generally held that the entire project originated in Sully's brains, and that in order to inspire more confidence in his (Sully's) idea he accredited them to his royal

master. More recently, however, a number of letters written by Henry to the Queen of England have come to light, which prove the incorrectness of this supposition. Henry's plan consisted in uniting fifteen of the greatest ruling Governments of his time into one Christian republic.

The States to be thus united were the six hereditary monarchies — France, Great Britain, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, and Lombardy; the five elective monarchies—the Papal See, the Empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, and the four republics—Venice, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Central Italy. Freedom of trade and religion was to be granted, and a Senate was to adjust controversies by arbitration.

Cologne or Metz was to be raised to the dignity of the capital of the empire, and the chief object of this peace federation was the subjugation of Turkey. For the rest, Henry's chief idea was to break the power of the Hapsburgs and set himself up as the ruler of united Europe, all of which plans were frustrated by the dagger of Ravallac.

In the year 1623 a Frenchman, Emeric de Lacrois, (1590-1648,) under the pseudonym of Emericus Cruceus, published a work called the "Neue Cynee." The title alludes to the Greek statesman, Cineas, who advised his master, King Pyrrhus, to abandon his plans of conquest and live at peace with his neighbors. In the same way Lacrois advised the rulers of his century to govern their lands in peace, and to this purpose suggested a council, to be composed of representatives of all countries, to convene in Venice. The council was to have for its object the adjustment of the controversies of the various rulers, "whose heinous passions was the chief cause of war." Free trade he regarded as one of the chief factors in the preservation of peace, and he was the first to advocate the freedom and security of the high seas. National prejudice seemed to him absurd. The most significant feature of this scheme was the detailed manner in which he had worked out the idea of universal federation and permanent international jurisdiction. He further suggested that the Pope and the

King of France take the initiative in developing the idea.

Foundations Laid by Grotius

The Thirty Years' War, which brought to Europeans a full realization of the scourges of war, had a decided influence upon the peace movement, as it was there that the foundation of modern civil law was laid. The work of the Netherlander, Hugo Grotius, (1583-1645,) "*De jure belli ac pacis*," set forth for the first time the fundamental principles of international law, which were to hold good in time of war as well as in time of peace. He sketched out certain humane regulations, by virtue of which his labors were of great value, even though he did not work directly toward an idea of universal peace. His work reached its culminating point in the recognition of the common interests of the nations, and in expressing this idea Grotius was the first to lay down a fundamental principle for the modern conception of pacification.

He believed that when war became inevitable it could still be controlled by the laws of mankind and humanity, and his work marks the beginning of the restriction and retrenchment of warfare. If he did not propose any great scheme for the establishment of a universal monarchy, he at least pioneered the path along which future developments have been made. It was by following out his suggestions that civil rights developed gradually into international rights and became a powerful weapon against the injustice and injury of war. Grotius openly advocated that the highest duty of a Christian sovereign was not to improve the methods of warfare, but to abolish it entirely. "It is the chief duty of Christian sovereigns and States to pursue a path which leads to the avoidance of taking up arms." He suggested means by which war could be prevented, one of these, curiously enough, being the duel; but he also recommended congresses and courts of arbitration.

About the year 1640 the Bohemian philosopher and pedagogue, Amos Comenius, (1592-1670,) published a treatise, "*Panegersia*," in which he adjured mankind to unite in bringing about a peace-

ful solution of political controversies. The impulse to this appeal he received from "the barbaric scourge of war, at present unleashed throughout Europe." The cause of these frightful disorders he declared to be the fact that "neither rulers nor subjects know how to obey the laws, nor understand how to subordinate their passions to justice." The persons whose business it is to preserve peace and maintain justice must be aroused to a sense of their duty. He also gave clear expression to the idea of European arbitration conferences, but his entire appeal was drowned in the stormy waves of the Thirty Years' War.

One of the most conspicuous Generals of this war, Landgrave Ernst von Hessian Rheinfels, (1623-1693,) put himself on record both in his printed works and in his correspondence with Leibniz as being a friend of universal pacification. He sketched a plan for the establishment of a tribunal, the seat of which should be in Lucerne, as this city would serve as a suitable neutral point between Austria and France, the two greatest Catholic powers of the age.

Pufendorf's Arbitration System

One of the chief perpetrators of the ideas of Hugo Grotius was the German jurist, Samuel Baron von Pufendorf, (1631-1694,) who worked out a complete system of international arbitration. In the year 1680, during the time of the English revolution, Duke Charles of Lorraine (1604-1685) framed his political testament, which contained a plan for the maintenance of peace in Europe, and which, in more than one point, suggests the earlier plans of Henry IV. The testament was composed of twenty-six articles and provided for an Academy of thirteen politicians, whose protector was to be the King of Hungary.

A short time before this—1670—Spinoza (1632-1677) had opposed the idea of warfare in his political tracts. About 1676 the English diplomat, William Temple, (1628-1699,) made a plea for a European federation in his work "*Observations on the United Provinces of the Netherlands*."

John Bellers, a Quaker of Gloucester,

England, published a treatise in 1710 bearing the title "Some Reasons for a European States," &c. Bellers also suggests a congress, senate, or parliament which should have representation. His plans comprised a complete scheme for a European confederation.

St. Pierre's Elaborate Plan

At the beginning of the eighteenth century it was again a Frenchman who came forward with a comprehensive project for the establishment of a great peace federation of the European States. The French Abbé Castel de Saint Pierre (1658-1743) was moved by the Peace of Utrecht to develop his plans, to which he had already given publicity in a work called "Projet de la Paix perpetuel." St. Pierre also recommends a European Senate, to be composed of twenty-four Deputies sent by the various powers. A big European alliance was to protect the nations and insure to them the elimination of future warfare. Every State was to desist from going to war, and a tribunal, supported by all the States, was to be given full executive power in deciding all controversies.

St. Pierre's project is the most comprehensive one ever written on the subject. It created a great sensation among his contemporaries, and was commented upon in detail by the most conspicuous writers of the day. The great philosopher Leibnitz (1646-1716) greeted the work of the abbé with extreme cordiality. "I have read your work with close attention, and cherish the conviction that such a project is not only possible of execution, but that its accomplishment would be of the most incalculable benefit to humanity"; so he writes to the author. In his own work on "Jurisprudence" Leibnitz comes back to the idea of universal peace. Montesquieu (1687-1755) occupies himself with the subject of war in his "Reflexions sur la Monarchie Universelle," which appeared in 1724. War he regards as justifiable under certain conditions, but deplores the sad results, and recommends humane principles and greater moderation in the conduct of war.

About the middle of the eighteenth century the great common-law scholar

Christian von Wolff (1679-1754) and Vattel (1714-1767) carried the ideas of Grotius still further. The former in his work "Le but des états naturel" and "Institutionis juris natural et gentium" developed the idea of international rights and international intercourse; the latter in his "Völkerrecht" advocated the advantages of arbitration, which he characterized as "the most rational and natural means of adjusting controversies."

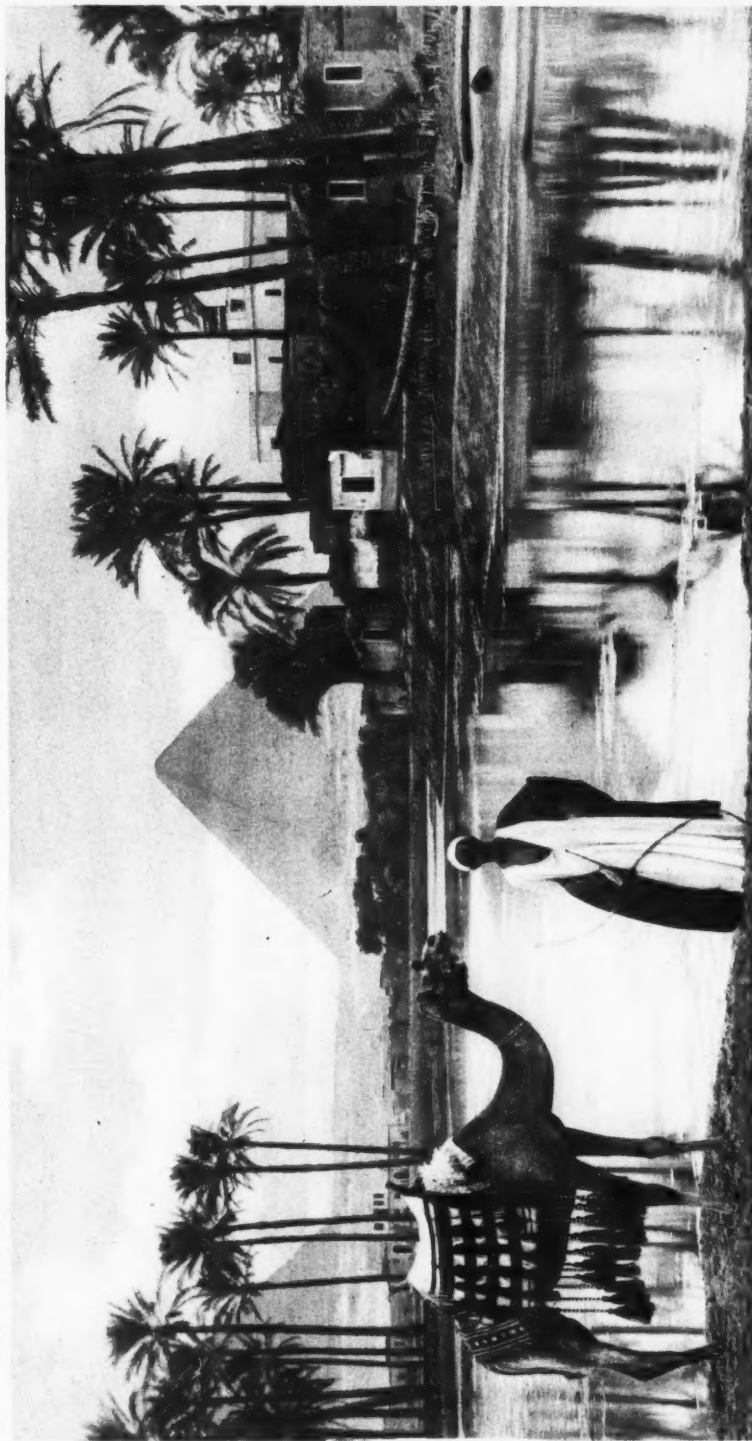
Early German Pacifists

In the year 1764 were published the writings of a Göttingen scholar, Professor Trotze, under the title of "Der einige und der allgemeine Friede in dem durch ein beständiges Bündniss zu einem Staatskörper zu vereinigen Europa," ("A universal peace through a union of the European nations into one State by means of a permanent alliance,") in which allusion is again made to the peace ideas of Henry IV. In the year 1766 the French Academy received anonymous instructions to offer a prize for the best treatise directed against warfare. This contest was undoubtedly the inspiration of more than one examination into the peace problem. As a direct result of it there appeared in Germany Lilienfels's "Neues Staatsgebäude," ("A New State Structure,") with a strongly marked anti-war tendency; "Gedanken zur Verbesserung der menschlichen Gesellschaft," ("Thoughts on the Bettering of Human Society,") by Loen, and in Holland van der Marken's "Rechten von den Mensch," ("Rights of Man.")

About this time the most conspicuous French statesman and finance politician, Turgot, (1727-1781,) made a plea for the plan of a European federative republic. Free trade, centralization of power, a militia for the enforcement of decrees form the cornerstones of this not uninteresting system. In 1769 an anonymous work appeared in London under the title of "Essai sur les préjugés," in which so vehement an attack was made upon war as to provoke an incisive reply from Frederick the Great.

In 1777 "Tableau politique et littéraire de l'Europe," by Mayer, appeared, setting forth the necessity of an organ-

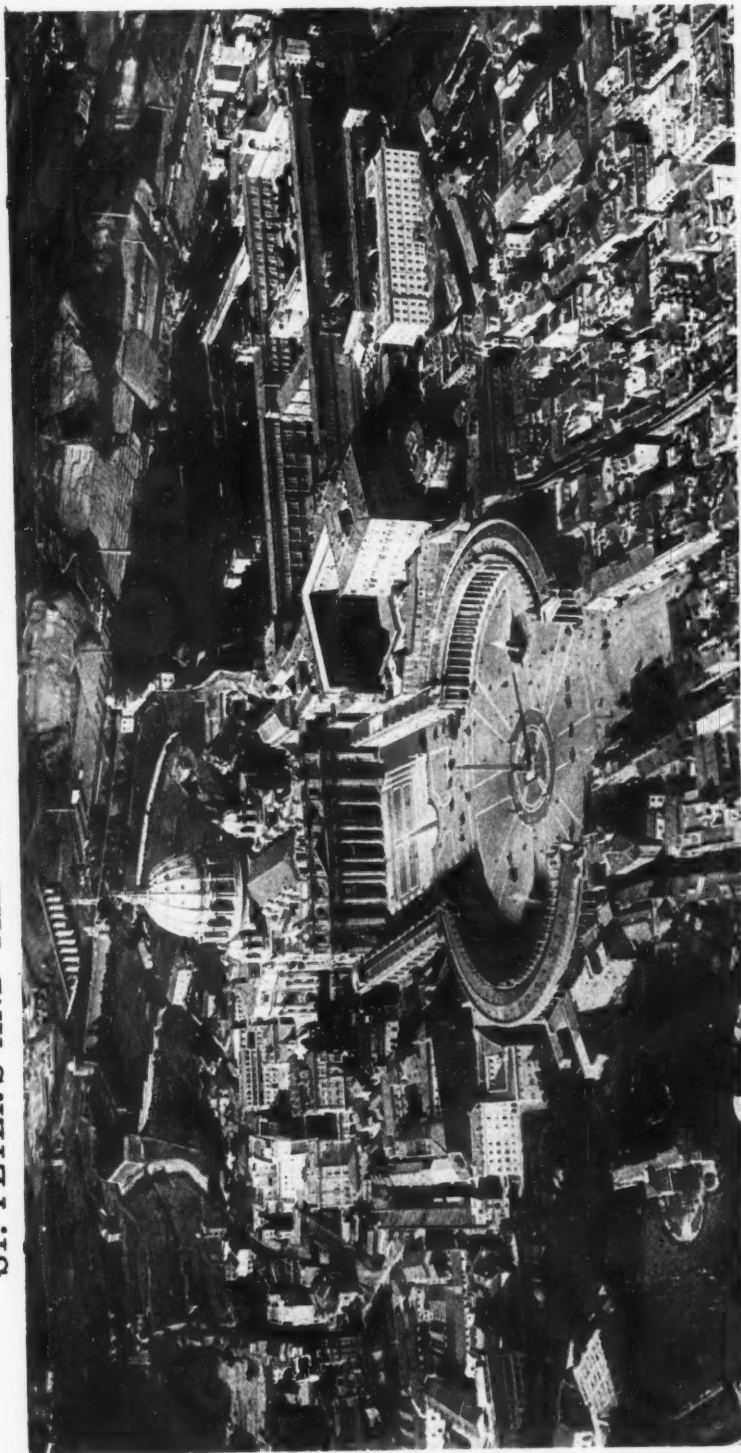
AN OASIS IN THE LAND WHERE BRITONS AND TURKS ARE FIGHTING



This Beautiful Scene in Egypt Is Near Cairo and the Pyramids of Gizeh. A Hundred Miles to the East, Across the Desert, the Turks Have Been Vainly Attacking the British Forces Guarding the Suez Canal.

(© Brown & Dawson.)

ST. PETER'S AND THE VATICAN SEEN FROM AN AEROPLANE



This Remarkable View of the Great Cathedral at Rome Was Taken from a Point Over the Tiber.
In the Centre Are the Piazza San Pietro and St. Peter's Itself, and on the Right Is the Vatican, with the Pontifical Palace Extending to the Extreme Right.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

ized state of peace, together with the need of a European congress. In the same year Richard Price, in England, laid out the fundamental principles of an international senate, which was to adjust controversies between the nations. The Marquis of Condorcet, (1743-1794,) a friend of Turgot's and one of the "Encyclopedists," directed a sharp attack against war in his "Lobrede auf Pascal," ("Eulogy of Pascal,") Later he declared war to be the greatest of all crimes and expressed the hope that it would gradually disappear.

Between 1790 and 1795 the French National Assembly occupied itself repeatedly with the question of peace and war, the discussions often leading to the severe condemnation of the latter. The Constitution of Sept. 3, 1791, contains the resolution to abandon wars of conquest.

Kant on Perpetual Peace

In the year 1795 Immanuel Kant's great philosophic work, "Zum ewigen Frieden," ("For Perpetual Peace,") appeared. As early as 1784, in a treatise "Die Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlichen Absicht," ("The Idea of a General History from a Cosmopolitan Viewpoint,") as well as in the essay "Ueber das Verhältniß der Theorie zur Praxis," ("The Relation of Theory to Practice,") he had defended the idea of a natural and necessary development of mankind into a federated commonwealth, and also the necessity of a general league, composed of all the nations, for the maintenance of eternal peace.

In the last-named writing he gave expression to his firm conviction that in the course of historic development the nations

would be forced to enter into federative relations, which would entirely eliminate war. The work "Zum ewigen Frieden" is in the form of a treatise on international law. Kant regards war as a natural condition; as long as men carry on warfare they have not grown out of their primitive natural state. Peace, on the other hand, he regards as an institution; Kant would prescribe a day of repentance after each war, and emphasizes the strict immorality in dedicating thankofferings and hymns of victory to the chiefs of the conquering armies. He gives three articles as fundamental principles in this institution of peace:

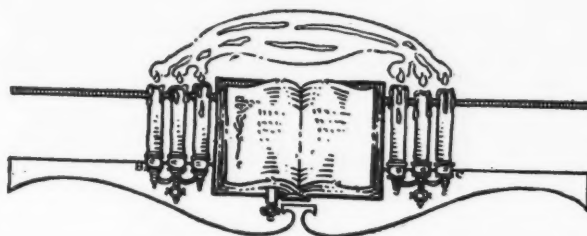
1. The civil constitution in every State must be republican. [Kant here means democratic.—Ed.]

2. International law must be based on a federation of free States.

3. International rights of citizenship must rest upon conditions of universal hospitality.

The Peace League shall be no federative State, but a union of free States held together by a peace contract—the effort of the union being not to end one particular war by the terms of this contract, but to abolish war entirely.

"Permanent peace," writes Kant, "will be assured when the most powerful of the world have a constitution of representation. * * * International law must be founded on a federation of such free States. The federation would be given a firm foundation if two or three of the most powerful of these States would declare: 'There shall be no more war between us!' Such a peace league alone can lead us away from the lawless conditions which accompany war, provided the various civilized nations subject themselves to its constitutional restrictions."



Forcing Belgians to Work in Germany

New Documents in the Case

THE protest of the United States Government against the Belgian deportations was answered by the German Government on Dec. 13, 1916, and the text of that reply, as given out to the German press, was printed in the January issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The official text, since made public by the State Department at Washington, is substantially the same as that just referred to, except that it adds the following paragraphs inviting the United States Government to send a member of its Berlin Legation to make a personal investigation of the conditions among the Belgians now working in Germany:

The unemployed are being sent from the central receiving places, which have been established at Altengrabow, Guben, Cassel, Maschede, Münster, Saltau, and Wittenberg, to their working places, where they are to be employed in agricultural and industrial establishments.

Employments to which a hostile population cannot be coerced, in accordance with international law, are, of course, excluded. If the Government of the United States attaches importance to it a member of its embassy in Berlin will be permitted with pleasure to inform himself by a personal visit about the conditions under which these persons are living.

The German Government greatly deplores that, by a slandering press campaign of her enemies, the conditions as explained above have been completely distorted by the United States. The German Government would likewise extremely deplore, not the least in the interest of the Belgian population, if by these distortations the highly beneficial action of the Relief Committee should be hampered.

The German Government, finally, feels obliged to point out the fact that the deportation of the German population from parts of Germany and from German colonies occupied by hostile troops, especially the deportation of women, children, and old persons from Eastern Prussia to Siberia, as far as it is known here, has not given the neutral States any inducements to take steps against the respective Governments similar to those now being taken against Germany. At all events, there can be no doubt that the enemy measures mentioned were gross violations of the laws of humanity and of the rules of international law, while, after the explanations given, the measures of the German

Government are absolutely in accordance with these principles.

The State Department at Washington announced on Jan. 24 that it had instructed Ambassador Gerard to accept the German Government's offer to permit an investigation. At that time the deportations totaled more than 125,000 and were still proceeding. A week later came the break of diplomatic relations and the recall of Mr. Gerard, before any thorough steps could be taken to accomplish the task.

Hunted Down by Soldiers

At the close of January a dispatch via The Hague stated that deportations from Brussels were being made at the rate of 350 men daily, and that many of these were skilled workmen who had been engaged at least a part of the time in their trades. The dispatch continues:

In some provinces the Belgians are adopting methods of passive resistance in efforts to escape deportation. This resistance takes the form of failing to appear at the appointed place of examination. Out of 1,700 men called in five communes near Malines, not more than one-half presented themselves. Thereupon the German military authorities arrested three prominent men in each commune, holding them as hostages until the appearance of the absentees, who in the meantime were hunted by squads of soldiers. In Brussels many of the summoned men who failed to appear are now in hiding.

About 1,000 Belgians connected with the work of the American Relief Commission—members of provincial and communal committees or helpers in storehouses, mills, or soup kitchens—have been deported to Germany over the strong protest of the commission. As a result of vigorous protests, however, a few of these men have been returned to their homes, and no others are being taken.

At the same time the Belgian Government at Havre received information that when a large number of laborers had been assembled in Berlaer, Santhoven, Viersel, and other towns, the men, frightened by the German methods, suddenly fled into the neighboring woods, where they were pursued unsuccessfully by the German soldiers. In reprisal the

Germans seized the Mayors and other prominent citizens and imprisoned them at Mechlin. Troops were also billeted on the wealthier people, and, as further punishment, the residents of these towns were forbidden to leave their homes after 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Sufferings of Ghent Victims

Twenty workmen of Ghent, who had been deported to Germany, returned home in January and afterward drew up a sworn report of their experiences, which was transmitted secretly to the Belgian Government at Havre and made public by the Ministry of Justice. The report reads in part as follows:

Our journey from Germany to France was made in closed cars, each containing forty men and women. Arriving in France late one afternoon we were compelled to march on a muddy road in the dark in such a way that we had to support one another to avoid falling into the ditches. Six hundred and fifty workmen found lodgings in barns and stables, sleeping on straw and covered with hay. Our journey from Germany occupied sixteen and a half hours, and this was followed by an hour's hard march, when many fell down too exhausted to eat even such little food as they could get.

It was absolute slavery. We had no fire, no light, no medical or nursing attendance for the sick. We worked with spades, shovels, and picks assisting the German military engineers. Great difficulty was encountered by the German authorities in compelling us to work. We had been assured in Ghent that no military work would be required of us. We had been assured also that we should work in Belgium and not elsewhere, and therefore we refused to work.

For two days we were left in peace. Then came a peremptory call at 6:30 one morning for us to report in a body. Tools were brought to us by some twenty pioneer soldiers. We declined to respond, arguing that we were badly cared for, that we were in France and not in Belgium, and that the proposed work had a military purpose. Our commander, an affable man, said that unless

we worked he feared that we would suffer unhappy consequences. Presently the chief of the pioneers appeared on horseback together with another officer, who ordered us to work. Again there was a general refusal. Thereupon the two men on horseback rushed upon us, whipped us and pressed us back into a meadow close by. The soldiers also assaulted us, kicking us with great violence.

Nevertheless we refused to work, insisting that the promises made to us in Ghent should be fulfilled. The chief of the pioneers then ordered us to advance in order to have a talk with him. A dozen left the ranks and reminded the commandant of the promises he had previously made that we should be well fed and lodged and not be compelled to work outside of Belgium nor for a military purpose. Thereupon the chief of the pioneers ordered a squad of soldiers to load their rifles, raise them to their shoulders, and take aim. Overcome by terror many gave way, and an hour afterward everybody was at work, unable to resist the pressure of the menace.

We worked in the rain, wind, and sleet with soaked garments. It was impossible to dry our clothing by night in the barn, and we put them on again in the morning still wet. Everybody suffered terribly from hunger. Laborers had raw cabbages and potatoes. Even a hedgehog was fetched at night and prepared on a stove. Men were so weak they were unable to move, and the sick lay in heaps. Fresh promises were made but never carried out.

At every stage we stubbornly opposed the authorities, yielding only when we were threatened with rifle fire. At night to protect the ill from the frightful cold we covered them with blankets, while those who were stronger walked up and down to keep warm. The seesaw struggle continued for a long stretch of days and nights. At times the sick were compelled to drag the field kitchens from Montigny to a neighboring village.

Finally our release came, followed by a long and agonizing journey by way of Laon, Guise, Le Cateau, Aulnoy, Valenciennes, Courtrai, and Deynize. During the whole journey we received neither food nor drink.

We feel bound to report these facts in the hope of causing an amelioration of the conditions under which our fellow-countrymen are still suffering.

Text of German Memorial Defending Belgian Deportations

THE following memorial in defense of the deportation and forced employment of Belgian workingmen was communicated by the German Government on Jan. 20 to the State Department at

Washington and to the Foreign Offices of other neutral nations:

The compulsory employment of Belgian workmen in German establishments is being seized upon by our enemies as a welcome opportunity for inflaming public opinion in the

neutral and hostile countries against this alleged latest violation of the Belgian people. This effort at arousing sentiment against Germany is threatening to assume considerable proportions, and it may even be considered probable that the Entente will attempt to move neutral Governments or high personages in neutral countries to make a formal protest. It seems therefore necessary, to prevent a one-sided judgment on this question from being formed, to elucidate the causes and the effects of the measures to which exception is being taken.

Those who are far removed from the war theatres and can therefore form only a superficial opinion of the conditions obtaining in the occupied territories in the west may not, perhaps, readily understand that the measures which have been adopted are not only in no wise detrimental to the population from an economic point of view, but that they have become, as it were, a social necessity in view of the peculiar conditions which prevail there. Those who wish to comprehend these facts will first of all have to gain a clear conception of the extent of unemployment in Belgium and its consequences.

The principal cause for this unemployment is to be found in the ruthless application of the British blockade even as against Belgium. Belgian industries are dependent on the importation of raw materials and the exportation of manufactured goods to such an extent that the almost complete throttling of Belgium's foreign trade by England was bound to lead automatically to the closing down of by far the greater part of the Belgian factories.

Blockade Cripples Industries

This is especially true of the important iron and steel industry, the textile and clothing industries, the ceramic and glass industries, which altogether employ over half a million workmen in peace times; it is also true of the leather, tobacco, paper, and chemical industries. The fishing industry also has ceased completely as a result of the blockade. A number of other enterprises had to close down because the materials employed, as well as their transportation, had become so dear that they were working at a loss; this happened, for example, in the building industry (which in peace time employs 95,000 workers) and in the wood and furniture industry, (which normally employs 80,000 workers.) That the important mining industry is still able to employ nine-tenths of its 145,000 workers is due solely to the extensive coal exports to Germany; similarly the quarries employ one-third of their former working force of 35,000, chiefly in order to fill German orders.

It is frequently asserted in Belgium that German requisitions of raw materials and machinery had considerably increased the lack of employment. This assertion is not in accordance with the facts because these

requisitions were made chiefly in such factories as, for one or another of the reasons enumerated, were unable to continue at work.

Due to the above-mentioned causes it has come about that out of 1,200,000 men and women who before the war were working in Belgian industrial establishments, comprising approximately one-half of the total population of Belgium engaged in gainful pursuits, 505,000 people (including 158,000 women) are totally unemployed, while 150,000 (including 46,000 women) are only partially employed. Thus in all 655,000 persons who formerly were earning their living as industrial workers are now dependent upon public charity. If, moreover, 293,000 wives and 612,000 children of the unemployed are added, the figure rises to 1,560,000 people in need of assistance—approximately one-fifth of the total Belgian population.

"Workers Tempted Into Idleness"

It is obvious that in a highly developed industrial country like Belgium the conditions described, which are without parallel in history, must of necessity lead to the gravest economic and social evils. The sums so far expended in procuring the minimum of subsistence for the unemployed and their dependents reach a total of 300,000,000 francs, and they promise in future to amount to no less than 20,000,000 francs monthly. And although foreign countries undertook to finance this relief work, in the last analysis the burden must be borne by the national economy of Belgium. Not only are the values thus unproductively expended a total loss to Belgium's economic life, but they also do it much harm. Owing to the relief granted them, the workers are tempted into continued idleness, with the result that today Belgian employers are with difficulty able to obtain the workmen necessary to keep their concerns going.

In view of the great number of the unemployed, this fact throws into strong relief the economic evils which have arisen in Belgium because of unemployment. But from the social point of view the present state of affairs must be characterized as absolutely intolerable, if the consequences are considered which permanent idleness is bound to produce among the laboring people themselves. It is self-evident that the skilled worker will in course of years lose his skill through lack of practice, and his usefulness to Belgian industry after the war will therefore be considerably diminished. Likewise, the unskilled worker, accustomed to a regular expenditure of energy, will deteriorate physically through prolonged idleness. Morally, the continuance of present conditions would have truly disastrous results. The laboring classes would end by losing entirely the sense of humiliation which all morally sound people feel when they are obliged to appeal to the charity of strangers for their sustenance; they would

lose their pride in being able to support their families by their own efforts. The old proverb that idleness is the fruitful mother of vice is being confirmed to an unusual degree in the Belgian workman, who is inclined to consider life from the materialistic aspect. In wide circles of these classes of the population idleness is resulting in drunkenness and moral abandonment, which engender manifold dangers to the family life.

To all these circumstances must be added the ever-increasing misery of the working-class families, who have used up their last savings and are now granted the means for no more than the satisfaction of the barest material necessities. Such conditions cannot but lead to a weakening of the fibre, material, and morale of the Belgian people.

The Governor General of Belgium, Baron von Bissing, realized at an early date the grave importance of this question for the population of the territory under his administration, and turned his entire attention to it from the beginning of his tenure of office. So far as the demands of a state of war permitted, he promoted the revival of trade and industry and favored all such importation and exportation as had not been rendered impossible by the British blockade. He also urged the Belgian municipalities to undertake emergency works of public utility in so far as this could be done without overburdening the municipal finances. The ever-growing dimensions which relief for the unemployed were assuming was of constant concern to him, for he had long since recognized that this dependence upon charity was bound to encourage laziness and increase the number of unemployed. Consequently he took occasion again and again to remind the authorities subordinate to him to take care that the aid granted to the unemployed did not militate against the resumption of work, and he also urged the heads of the relief committees to bear this in mind.

Denies Forcing Military Work

By means of all these measures the evil could be restricted but it could not be eliminated, for the deeper-lying cause of it, the British blockade, was making itself felt more and more as time went on. Hence the Governor General was obliged in the preceding year to resort to more effective means in order to check the idleness which was increasing among the population. At the initiative of clear-sighted Belgians and with the co-operation of the competent Belgian Ministry, he issued in August, 1915, an ordinance against idleness, which was supplemented and made more rigorous in March, 1916. These ordinances provided for the compulsory removal of workers to places of work only in those cases in which the unemployed per-

son refuses, without satisfactory reason, to perform work of which he is capable and for which he is offered adequate remuneration; every reason for refusal based on international law is regarded as satisfactory. A laborer cannot, therefore, be forced to participate in work of a military character. The ordinances are directed, in the first place, against certain organized influences that are trying to keep the laborers from voluntarily accepting remunerative work for no other reason than that it is offered by the Germans. The ordinances are based on the sound legislative consideration that the liberty of the individual should be restricted in the interest of the common weal.

Now that the evils which gave rise to these ordinances have developed absolutely intolerable conditions, the ordinances have to be carried into effect on a larger scale than heretofore. Before they are applied the unemployed are given an opportunity to enter of their own will into remunerative labor contracts, and coercive measures are resorted to only in cases of obstinate refusal, which in most instances are found to be the result of instigation. The unemployed who are sent to Germany are placed there on the same footing with the German laborers and are receiving higher wages than were ever given in Belgium. Provision has been made that a part of these wages be turned over to the relatives who have remained at home. The laborers are also permitted to correspond with their families, and they are granted home leaving at regular intervals. On request they may even take their families with them to Germany. Religious services are provided in their native tongue.

The great advantages which accrue to the Belgian laborers from the opportunity to work thus granted them, in contrast to their previous lamentable condition, are so obvious that for a long time past thousands of them have voluntarily made use of the offer and have found profitable work in Germany. Happy to have escaped the misery resulting from the many months of unemployment and the humiliation of public support, they have been able to regain their physical and moral strength through their return to their normal occupation. They are enabled to better their economic condition and provide for their families by the labor of their own hands, and once more to lay by savings for the future. Their temporary transplantation to another country does not frighten them; Belgian laborers are accustomed to travel from place to place, and in time of peace they were wont to hire themselves out, frequently for many months, to employers in the southern industrial districts of their country or in those of Northern France for a far smaller increase in wage than is offered them today.

Belgian Legation's Reply to German Memorandum

EMMANUEL HAVENITH, the Belgian Minister to the United States, issued a statement on Jan. 28—with the approval of his Government—in rejoinder to the German defense of the Belgian deportations. The statement, a copy of which was filed with the State Department at Washington, is as follows:

In a communication recently published in the newspapers in the United States the German Government declares that the deportation of Belgians is a social necessity, on account of the great number of unemployed Belgians, and that this situation has been caused by the British blockade.

The legation of Belgium, thinking that its silence might give currency to this false statement, deems it its duty to point out some of the absolutely erroneous assertions made in that communication.

According to the German Government, the principal cause of the great number of unemployed in Belgium is the British blockade, so that it is incorrect to say that the requisition by Germany of raw materials and machinery has in great part caused this situation. According to the statement of the German Government, the machinery and raw materials were seized only because of lack of workmen.

In reality what has happened is the exact contrary to the statement of Germany, and, as in the case of the deportations, it is the Germans who have created a state of affairs upon which they have afterward endeavored to establish the justification of the illegal measures taken by them.

On June 30, 1915, the legation of the King (the Belgian Legation at Washington) officially protested against the seizure of raw materials amounting to the sum of \$17,000,000. Other official protests have been made under dates of Dec. 29, 1914, March 4, 1915, and Oct. 29, 1915, against the seizure of machines and tools requisitioned by the Germans in Belgium and sent into Germany. Belgian industries having been thus prevented from continuing work, there followed an increase in the number of unemployed, due entirely to the action of Germany, who has not hesitated to sacrifice Belgian interests, as, indeed, General von Blissing openly acknowledged when he recently declared that he was not in Belgium to watch over the interests of that country but to take care of the interests of Germany.

[After discussing financial conditions and the war tax of \$8,000,000 a month imposed on Belgium, the statement says:]

When Germany had thus reduced to idle-

ness a large number of workmen she decided to export them into Germany in order to liberate in this way an equal number of German workmen, who would rejoin the German Army in the field. This plan was conceived a long time in advance, as one may see by reading the official orders of the German Government.

[After quoting orders to bear out its contention, the statement says:]

Today it is no longer a question of forced labor in Belgium, but in Germany, and for the benefit of the Germans.

Today it is no longer a question only of the deportation of the unemployed. According to information received by the Government of the King, employed and unemployed—all those whom the German Government thinks that it can utilize—are deported into Germany.

The number of these unfortunates is today more than 120,000.

This, again, Germany, after having created a situation, makes of it a pretext for the justification of her illegal actions, for these actions are illegal, whatever may have been the cause which created the situation. The German note handed to the Government of the United States declares:

These ordinances provided for the compulsory removal of workers to places of work only in those cases in which the unemployed person refuses, without satisfactory reason, to perform work of which he is capable and for which he is offered adequate remuneration; every reason for refusal based on international law is regarded as satisfactory. A laborer cannot, therefore, be forced to participate in work of a military character.

This false statement is the strongest condemnation of the German system of deportation. What higher motive, based upon international law, could exist than the refusal of a Belgian citizen to go and work in Germany when he knows that this work will liberate a German workman, who will rejoin the enemy army and fight against his brothers? * * *

These unfortunate workmen are being deported into Germany, where they are employed on work of a military or semi-military nature, such as in lime-kilns and cement plants, when they are sent near the firing line. However that may be, their presence in Germany liberates German workmen, who go to rejoin the army in the field; it is, therefore, a violation of international law in spirit and in letter.

It is a return to an institution which has been definitely suppressed by civilized nations. The United States especially, in order

to assure the abolition of this institution, did not hesitate to give its utmost resources and to sacrifice the blood of its noblest sons; the greatest among these, Lincoln, died a martyr to this cause, and his name is forever linked with this victory of humanity over the darkness of the past.

Today a nation which calls itself civilized wishes to reintroduce this abomination in the twentieth century. A fact more grave, if it is possible that anything could be more grave, is that she wishes to justify her re-establishment of the institution upon the principles of international law—this code of

civilization which the peoples of the earth have drawn up by common accord to open to humanity the path of progress.

If this theory should be accepted it would mean the shipwreck of all the acquisitions, of all the progress that civilization has made during these recent centuries, for it would be an admission that all the efforts made in the past for the advancement and progress of humanity, and which are set forth in the various treaties and conventions, could be used as justification for the re-establishment of the most hideous evil from which humanity has suffered.

German Methods in Northern France

Personal Experiences of Repatriated Citizens of Roubaix and Tourcoing

FIFTEEN HUNDRED French civilians from the occupied portions of Northern France, chiefly from the neighborhood of Roubaix and Tourcoing, were sent back into France by way of Switzerland in the first week of January. A representative of *Le Temps*, Paris, talked with a man and wife who had been allowed to leave Roubaix after closing up their home, and they told him this pitiful story:

The young people of Roubaix, including the son of these parents, had been taken away by the Germans to a reconcentration camp. A few days before leaving for Switzerland this couple learned that the young men and women were to return to their homes. They did return, but before being given back to their families they were herded in a barrack of the "kommandatur." The son in question, succumbing to fatigue, fell asleep. Suddenly armed guards noisily entered the hall where the young men were confined. The son, waked by the noise of this sudden irruption, instinctively raised his arms in a gesture of self-defense. The soldiers seem to have seen in this gesture either a movement of revolt or an intention of irony. At any rate, one of them, furious, ran his bayonet through the young man's body. The next day they delivered to the parents the dead body, absolutely naked, robbed of its clothes and of everything that the young man had possessed.

The bereaved parents furnished to *Le Temps* the following details regarding the German methods of administration in the occupied districts:

"Every man and woman, regardless of age, has received a 'house card' and a personal number to prevent the inhabitants from leaving their homes. Each house has nailed to its threshold an official placard with the full names, ages, and sexes of all its inhabitants.

"The boys and young men of fourteen years or more are sent to the concentration camps. The young women and girls likewise are torn from their families and assembled in groups, pell-mell with women of evil life, with the lowest prostitutes. Thence they are sent into the camps, where they are 'divided' according to the tasks imposed upon them, as, for example, 'serving the officers.' On arriving at their destinations they are systematically deprived of the right to communicate with their families. Young married couples have thus been separated without the husband and wife being able to know what has become each of the other.

"In Germany the heaviest kind of labor is imposed on the deported people, accompanied by a severe régime of terrorism and penalties, wounds, blows with rifle stocks, insufficient and impossible food, barbarous punishments. A single wooden bowl serves alike for containing food and for the elementary needs of

cleanliness. Most of the victims sleep on the ground, without shelter, exposed to all the biting winds. Under this régime many become worn out, lose flesh, and succumb to fatal disease. The rest fall into a state of frightful emaciation.

"As for the levies in mass, this is how the Germans operate: In the evening they warn the occupants of a house to have themselves in readiness early the next morning before the door of their home. The next day at the appointed hour they are all obliged to range themselves in front of the house and remain there, however long the time may be, whatever the weather, rain or snow, sometimes for several hours, waiting until the officers have made their choice among them. Old men, who under no circumstances ought to be taken out of their homes, have died of cold after vain protests, having been unable to obtain permission to go inside. After the choice of victims has been made by the officers, the separations, of course, are heartrending.

"It frequently happens that the officers, passing the inhabitants of a house in review, notice women and girls whose beauty or prettiness piques their attention. Woe to them! Their names are inscribed on a special list and sent to the 'Kommandatur,' which will not delay to invite them to the officers' quarters. Those who refuse to go will be punished promptly with a month's imprisonment. At the expiration of that time, if they refuse again, it is the fortress that closes upon them. Finally, a further refusal brings upon them a veritable sentence to forced labor.

"Last Summer, during the offensive on the Somme, the inhabitants of Roubaix and Tourcoing heard the cannon thundering and cherished high hopes. Liberty seemed near to them. The Germans themselves expected to see their lines pierced. Becoming very amiable, they announced their coming departure, saying: 'The French are great warriors. We are raising carrots, but you will eat them without us.' In the banks all the papers were tied up ready to be sent away. The rear-guard troops had taken their stations for the evacuation of the occupied

territory. Everybody asked, meanwhile, why the French did not break through the German lines. The inhabitants had boarded up all their windows and taken stoves and provisions down into their cellars, hoping for the bombardment that would free them, preferring this bombardment of Frenchmen by Frenchmen rather than the nightmare of not knowing whether they could sleep another night in their own beds, of being exposed to the worst reprisals at the slightest frown of the 'Kommandatur.'

"Now all is changed. The enemy has fortified all his works of defense. The inhabitants have been compelled to labor on these fortifications without pay, the withholding of food being for our enemies the surest means of compelling our unhappy compatriots to give this indispensable assistance.

"Every time that their troops report a little military success, apparent or real, the Germans ring the bells. For a long time we had not heard them at Roubaix and Tourcoing. On the day of the taking of Bucharest they rang for two hours.

"The Germans have become more arrogant than ever. They starve the population through the enormous prices of all provisions. One cannot get a kilo of meat (about 2¼ pounds) for less than 25 francs, (\$5.) A kilo of potatoes costs 20 francs, an egg 1½ francs, (30 cents,) a pair of shoes 75 francs, (\$15;) so almost everybody is shod with hemp slippers or sandals. A zone a kilometer wide has been established along the Belgian frontier to prevent the passing of certain provisions, such as butter and milk, which we had previously procured at better rates. The inhabitants of that zone are not allowed to keep in their houses more than two days' supply of food. All in excess of that is confiscated under the pretext of feeding those who have nothing. In reality it is the Germans who utilize it.

"The people of Roubaix and Tourcoing have access only to two German newspapers, which publish false news. If they wish French journals they can sometimes succeed in buying them from the German officers themselves, who sell them very dear—\$10 a copy!"

An English Mother and Her Dead Boy

Harold Begbie's Tribute

Mr. Begbie recently contributed to The London Chronicle this touching tribute to the tens of thousands of British youths who have perished in great waves on the battle front.

THE other day there died in France a boy from Clayesmore School, who had been loved by all who knew him. He was a boy's hero, a mother's hero, and the pride of his regiment. He had won the Military Cross and the D. S. O. And he died in the flush and rapture of his youth. His mother's letter to the headmaster, which has been printed in the school magazine, tells the story of his end in language so moving and so beautiful that I wish to give it to a wider public. This boy was in the Rifle Brigade and his Colonel said of him, "He was the best company commander by far that I have seen out here. * * * As I said in my recommendation of him for a D. S. O., he was the finest type of fighting officer I have ever seen."

A telegram from the War Office came to this boy's home one day, telling his parents that he was seriously wounded and that they might visit him at Abbeville. The father was unable to go, but an hour after the telegram arrived the mother and another son had started for France. They arrived an hour and a half too late, and yet not too late for such a farewell as will live in their souls forever. This is what the mother says:

We saw him in the mortuary looking such a soldier, and the dear forehead was hardly cold when I kissed it. He was covered with the union jack and lay in front of the little altar, just the supreme sacrifice. We stayed to the funeral early Thursday, when a Captain Johnson and three privates shared the same service. One other mother was there, who had nursed her boy for some days ere he went, and we three mourners stood in the glorious sunshine, the blue sky piled with grand banks of white clouds; and when the service was over the buglers saluted us and then, and, standing between us and the open graves, sounded the "Last Post" and the "Reveille" as I have never heard it before and never shall again. It must have rolled beyond the clouds and down the vaults of heaven till J. himself must have heard it. Then we hastened back to England to tell the news we dared not wire.

When you read these few words do you not seem to see in this one mother and this one son the whole human tragedy and also the whole human glory of war? The boy was what he was because of that breast which had fed him, those arms which had held him, that love which had enriched him, inspired him, and consecrated his young soul. And this devotion of the mother has for its end a grave in France. There was the brave parting in England when he went out to fight, and then the last kiss on the dear forehead which was hardly cold. And yet there is no agonized cry of revolt from the mother, no furious imprecations, no bitterness of soul. For the son, death in the glory and beauty of his youth: for the mother, a memory of all he was to her, from infancy to the hour of farewell. "He was covered with the union jack and lay in front of the little altar, just the supreme sacrifice."

So England stoops and kisses the dear foreheads of her youth, covering them with her flag, laying them before the altar of God's judgment, leaving them there as just the supreme sacrifice. She has mothered them from infancy under Summer and Winter skies, giving them her roses to love, her hedgerows to hunt, her hills to climb, her great winds to make them strong, and her history for a tradition and an inspiration. She is bereft of her youth. She hears the "Last Post" sounding for them, and wonders if "reveille" will sound for us.

Shall it be in vain
His dazzling courage, his piteous pain?
Shall our glorious flag that he flung so high
Slide down but an inch in the starry sky?

There is only one thing in England more moving than the death of these glorious children. It is the courage of their mothers. And that courage for us who remain should sound an eternal, a resistless reveille in our souls.

The Greatest Battle in History

Text of General Sir Douglas Haig's Report on the Battle of the Somme

THE British War Office made public on Dec. 29, 1916, an exhaustive and important dispatch, which had been received by Lord Derby, Secretary of State for War, from General Sir Douglas Haig, Commander in Chief of the British forces in France. That dispatch, here published in full, covers the British operations on the Somme from May 19 to Nov. 15, 1916. It is the first official story in proper sequence of the battles for Pozieres, Contalmaison, Guillemont, Combles, Ginchy, Delville Wood, Longueval, Martinpuich, Flers, Courcelette, Thiepval, and a score of other fights, which will for long years to come stir the blood in British veins. The results of this desperate struggle the British Commander in Chief summarizes as follows:

The enemy's power has not yet been broken, nor is it yet possible to form an estimate of the time the war may last before the objects for which the Allies are fighting have been attained. But the Somme battle has placed beyond doubt the ability of the Allies to gain those objects.

The German Army is the mainstay of the Central Powers, and a full half of that army, despite all the advantages of the defensive, supported by the strongest fortifications, suffered defeat on the Somme this year. Neither the victors nor the vanquished will forget this; and, though bad weather has given the enemy a respite, there will undoubtedly be many thousands in his ranks who will begin the new campaign with little confidence in their ability to resist our assaults or to overcome our defense.

Sir Douglas Haig states that the object of the Allies' offensive on the Somme was threefold:

1. To relieve the pressure on Verdun.

2. To assist Britain's allies in other theatres of war by stopping the transfer of German troops.

3. To wear down the strength of the enemy.

All these objects, he says, have been achieved, and any one of them is sufficient to justify forcing the enemy to battle. The full official text of the document follows:

General Headquarters,
Dec. 23, 1916.

My Lord: I have the honor to submit the following report on the operations of the forces under my command since May 19, the date of my last dispatch.

1. The principle of an offensive campaign during the Summer of 1916 had already been decided on by all the Allies. The various possible alternatives on the western front had been studied and discussed by General Joffre and myself, and we were in complete agreement as to the front to be attacked by the combined French and British armies. Preparations for our offensive had made considerable progress; but as the date on which the attack should begin was dependent on many doubtful factors, a final decision on that point was deferred until the general situation should become clearer.

Subject to the necessity of commencing operations before the Summer was too far advanced, and with due regard to the general situation, I desired to postpone my attack as long as possible. The British armies were growing in numbers and the supply of munitions was steadily increasing. Moreover, a very large proportion of the officers and men under my command were still far from being fully trained, and the longer the attack could be deferred the more efficient they would become. On the other hand, the Germans were continuing to press their attacks at Verdun, and both there and on the Italian front, where the Austrian offensive was gaining ground, it was evident that the strain might become too great to be borne unless timely



GENERAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG

action were taken to relieve it. Accordingly, while maintaining constant touch with General Joffre in regard to all these considerations, my preparations were pushed on, and I agreed, with the consent of his Majesty's Government, that my attack should be launched, whenever the general situation required it, with as great a force as I might then be able to make available.

2. By the end of May the pressure of the enemy on the Italian front had assumed such serious proportions that the Russian campaign was opened early in June, and the brilliant successes gained by our allies against the Austrians at once caused a movement of German troops from the western to the eastern front. This, however, did not lessen the pressure on Verdun. The heroic defense of our French allies had already gained many weeks of inestimable value and had caused the enemy very heavy losses; but the strain continued to increase. In view, therefore, of the situation in the various theatres of war, it was eventually agreed between General Joffre and myself that the combined French and British offensive should not be postponed beyond the end of June.

Objects and Preparations

The object of that offensive was threefold:

- (i.) To relieve the pressure on Verdun.
- (ii.) To assist our allies in the other theatres of war by stopping any further transfer of German troops from the western front.
- (iii.) To wear down the strength of the forces opposed to us.

3. While my final preparations were in progress the enemy made two unsuccessful attempts to interfere with my arrangements. The first, directed on May 21 against our positions on the Vimy Ridge, south and south-east of Souchez, resulted in a small enemy gain of no strategic or tactical importance; and rather than weaken my offensive by involving additional troops in the task of recovering the lost ground, I decided to consolidate a position in rear of our original line.

The second enemy attack was delivered on June 2 on a front of over one and a half miles from Mount Sorrell to Hooge, and succeeded in penetrating to a maximum depth of 700 yards. As the southern part of the lost position commanded our trenches, I judged it necessary to recover it, and by an attack launched on June 13, carefully prepared and well executed, this was successfully accomplished by the troops on the spot.

Neither of these enemy attacks succeeded in delaying the preparations for the major operations which I had in view.

4. These preparations were necessarily very elaborate and took considerable time.

Vast stocks of ammunition and stores of all kinds had to be accumulated beforehand within a convenient distance of our front. To deal with these many miles of new railways—both standard and narrow gauge—and trench tramways were laid. All available roads were improved, many others were made, and long

causeways were built over marshy valleys. Many additional dugouts had to be provided as shelter for the troops, for use as dressing stations for the wounded, and as magazines for storing ammunition, food, water, and engineering material. Scores of miles of deep communication trenches had to be dug, as well as trenches for telephone wires, assembly and assault trenches, and numerous gun emplacements and observation posts.

Important mining operations were undertaken, and charges were laid at various points beneath the enemy's lines.

Except in the river valleys, the existing supplies of water were hopelessly insufficient to meet the requirements of the numbers of men and horses to be concentrated in this area as the preparations for our offensive proceeded. To meet this difficulty many wells and borings were sunk, and over one hundred pumping plants were installed. More than one hundred and twenty miles of water mains were laid, and everything was got ready to insure an adequate water supply as our troops advanced.

Much of this preparatory work had to be done under very trying conditions, and was liable to constant interruption from the enemy's fire. The weather, on the whole, was bad, and the local accommodation totally insufficient for housing the troops employed; who consequently had to content themselves with such rough shelter as could be provided in the circumstances. All this labor, too, had to be carried out in addition to fighting and to the everyday work of maintaining existing defenses. It threw a very heavy strain on the troops, which was borne by them with a cheerfulness beyond all praise.

The German Positions

5. The enemy's position to be attacked was of a very formidable character, situated on a high, undulating tract of ground, which rises to more than 500 feet above sea level, and forms the watershed between the Somme on the one side and the rivers of Southwestern Belgium on the other. On the southern face of this watershed, the general trend of which is from east-southeast to west-northwest, the ground falls in a series of long irregular spurs and deep depressions to the valley of the Somme. Well down the forward slopes of this face the enemy's first system of defense, starting from the Somme near Curlu, ran at first northward for 3,000 yards, then westward for 7,000 yards to near Fricourt, where it turned nearly due north, forming a great salient angle in the enemy's lines.

Some 10,000 yards north of Fricourt the trenches crossed the River Ancre, a tributary of the Somme, and, still running northward, passed over the summit of the watershed, about Hébuterne and Gommecourt, and then down its northern spurs to Arras.

On the 20,000-yard front between the Somme and the Ancre the enemy had a strong second system of defense, sited generally on or near the southern crest of the

and flanking fire by machine guns and artillery. They formed, in short, not merely a series of successive lines, but one composite system of enormous depth and strength.

Behind this second system of trenches, in addition to woods, villages, and other strong points prepared for defense, the enemy had several other lines already completed; and we had learned from aeroplane reconnaissance that he was hard at work improving and strengthening these, and digging fresh ones between them and still further back.

In the area above described, between the Somme and the Ancre, our front-line trenches ran parallel and close to those of the enemy, but below them. We had good direct observation on his front system of trenches and on the various defenses sited on the slopes above us between his first and second systems; but the second system itself, in many places, could not be observed from the ground in our possession, while, except from the air, nothing could be seen of his more distant defenses.

North of the Ancre, where the opposing trenches ran transversely across the main ridge, the enemy's defenses were equally elaborate and formidable. So far as command of ground was concerned we were here practically on level terms, but, partly as a result of this, our direct observation over the ground held by the enemy was not so good as it was further south. On portions of this front the opposing first-line trenches were more widely separated from each other, while in the valleys to the north were many hidden gun positions from which the enemy could develop flanking fire on our troops as they advanced across the open.

Offensive's Three Phases

6. The period of active operations dealt with in this dispatch divides itself roughly into three phases. The first phase opened with the attack of July 1, the success of which evidently came as a surprise to the enemy and caused considerable confusion and disorganization in his ranks. The advantages gained on that date and developed during the first half of July may be regarded as having been rounded off by the operations of July 14 and three following days, which gave us possession of the southern crest of the main plateau between Delville Wood and Bazentin-le-Petit.

We then entered upon a contest lasting for many weeks, during which the enemy, having found his strongest defenses unavailing, and now fully alive to his danger, put forth his utmost efforts to keep his hold on the main ridge. This stage of the battle constituted a prolonged and severe struggle for mastery between the contending armies, in which, although progress was slow and difficult, the confidence of our troops in their ability to win was never shaken. Their tenacity and determination proved more than equal to their task, and by the first week in September they had established a fighting superiority that has left its mark on the enemy, of which pos-

session of the ridge was merely the visible proof.

The way was then opened for the third phase, in which our advance was pushed down the forward slopes of the ridge and further extended on both flanks until, from Morval to Thiepval, the whole plateau and a good deal of ground beyond were in our possession. Meanwhile our gallant allies, in addition to great successes south of the Somme, had pushed their advance, against equally determined opposition and under most difficult tactical conditions, up the long slopes on our immediate right, and were now preparing to drive the enemy from the summit of the narrow and difficult portion of the main ridge which lies between the Combes Valley and the River Tortille, a stream flowing from the north into the Somme just below Péronne.

7. Defenses of the nature described could only be attacked with any prospect of success after careful artillery preparation. It was accordingly decided that our bombardment should begin on June 24, and a large force of artillery was brought into action for the purpose.

Artillery bombardments were also carried out daily at different points on the rest of our front, and during the period from June 24 to July 1 gas was discharged with good effect at more than forty places along our line upon a frontage which in total amounted to over fifteen miles. Some seventy raids, too, were undertaken by our infantry between Gommecourt and our extreme left north of Ypres during the week preceding the attack, and these kept me well informed as to the enemy's dispositions, besides serving other useful purposes.

On June 25 the Royal Flying Corps carried out a general attack on the enemy's observation balloons, destroying nine of them, and depriving the enemy for the time being of this form of observation.

Joint Attack Launched

8. On July 1, at 7:30 A. M., after a final hour of exceptionally violent bombardment, our infantry assault was launched. Simultaneously the French attacked on both sides of the Somme, co-operating closely with us.

The British main front of attack extended from Maricourt on our right, round the salient at Fricourt, to the Ancre in front of St. Pierre Divion. To assist this main attack by holding the enemy's reserves and occupying his artillery, the enemy's trenches north of the Ancre, as far as Serre, inclusive, were to be assaulted simultaneously, while further north a subsidiary attack was to be made on both sides of the salient at Gommecourt.

I had intrusted the attack on the front from Maricourt to Serre to the Fourth Army, under the command of General Sir Henry S. Rawlinson, Bart., K. C. B., K. C. V. O., with five army corps at his disposal. The subsidiary attack at Gommecourt was carried out by troops from the army commanded by General Sir E. H. H. Allenby, K. C. B.

Just prior to the attack the mines which had been prepared under the enemy's lines were exploded, and smoke was discharged at many places along our front. Through this smoke our infantry advanced to the attack with the utmost steadiness in spite of the very heavy barrage of the enemy's guns. On our right our troops met with immediate success, and rapid progress was made. Before midday Montauban had been carried, and shortly afterward the Briqueterie, to the east, and the whole of the ridge to the west of the village were in our hands. Opposite Mametz part of our assembly trenches had been practically leveled by the enemy artillery, making it necessary for our infantry to advance to the attack across 400 yards of open ground. None the less they forced their way into Mametz, and reached their objective in the valley beyond, first throwing out a defensive flank toward Fricourt on their left. At the same time the enemy's trenches were entered north of Fricourt, so that the enemy's garrison in that village was pressed on three sides. Further north, though the village of La Boisselle and Ovillers for the time being resisted our attack, our troops drove deeply into the German lines on the flanks of these strongholds, and so paved the way for their capture later.

Leipsic Salient Stormed

On the spur running south from Thiepval the work known as the Leipsic Salient was stormed, and severe fighting took place for the possession of the village and its defenses. Here and north of the valley of the Ancre, as far as Serre, on the left flank of our attack, our initial successes were not sustained. Striking progress was made at many points, and parties of troops penetrated the enemy's positions to the outer defenses of Grandcourt, and also to Pendant Copse and Serre; but the enemy's continued resistance at Thiepval and Beaumont Hamel made it impossible to forward reinforcements and ammunition, and in spite of their gallant efforts our troops were forced to withdraw during the night to their own lines.

The subsidiary attack at Gommecourt also forced its way into the enemy's positions, but there met with such vigorous opposition that as soon as it was considered that the attack had fulfilled its object our troops were withdrawn.

9. In view of the general situation at the end of the first day's operations I decided that the best course was to press forward on a front extending from our junction with the French to a point half way between La Boisselle and Contalmaison, and to limit the offensive on our left for the present to a slow and methodical advance. North of the Ancre such preparations were to be made as would hold the enemy to his positions and enable the attack to be resumed there later if desirable. In order that General Sir Henry Rawlinson might be left free to concentrate his attention on the portion of the front where the attack was to be pushed home, I

also decided to place the operations against the front, La Boisselle to Serre, under the command of General Sir Hubert de la P. Gough, K. C. B., to whom I accordingly allotted the two northern corps of Sir Henry Rawlinson's army. My instructions to Sir Hubert Gough were that his army was to maintain a steady pressure on the front from La Boisselle to the Serre road and to act as a pivot on which our line could swing as our attacks on his right made progress toward the north.

10. During the succeeding days the attack was continued on these lines. In spite of strong counterattacks on the Briqueterie and Montauban, by midday on July 2 our troops had captured Fricourt, and in the afternoon and evening stormed Fricourt Wood and the farm to the north. During July 3 and 4 Bernajay and Caterpillar Woods were also captured, and our troops pushed forward to the railway north of Mametz. On these days the reduction of La Boisselle was completed after hard fighting, while the outskirts of Contalmaison were reached on July 5. North of La Boisselle also the enemy's forces opposite us were kept constantly engaged, and our holding in the Leipsic Salient was gradually increased.

First Line Captured

To sum up the results of the fighting of these five days, on a front of over six miles, from the Briqueterie to La Boisselle, our troops had swept over the whole of the enemy's first and strongest system of defense, which he had done his utmost to render impregnable. They had driven him back over a distance of more than a mile, and had carried four elaborately fortified villages. The number of prisoners passed back at the close of July 5 had already reached the total of ninety-four officers and 5,724 other ranks.

11. After the five days' heavy and continuous fighting just described it was essential to carry out certain readjustments and reliefs of the forces engaged. In normal conditions of enemy resistance the amount of progress that can be made at any time without a pause in the general advance is necessarily limited. Apart from the physical exhaustion of the attacking troops and the considerable distance separating the enemy's successive main systems of defense, special artillery preparation was required before a successful assault could be delivered. Meanwhile, however, local operations were continued in spite of much unfavorable weather. The attack on Contalmaison and Mametz Wood was undertaken on July 7, and after three days' obstinate fighting, in the course of which the enemy delivered several powerful counterattacks, the village and the whole of the wood, except its northern border, were finally secured. On July 7 also a footing was gained in the other defenses of Ovillers, while on July 9, on our extreme right, Maltz Horn Farm—an important point on the spur north of Hardecourt—was secured.

A thousand yards north of this farm our troops had succeeded at the second attempt in establishing themselves on July 8 in the southern end of Trones Wood. The enemy's positions in the northern and eastern parts of this wood were very strong, and no less than eight powerful German counterattacks were made here during the next five days. In the course of this struggle portions of the wood changed hands several times; but we were left eventually, on July 13, in possession of the southern part of it.

Operations of July 14

12. Meanwhile Mametz Wood had been entirely cleared of the enemy, and with Trones Wood also practically in our possession we were in a position to undertake an assault upon the enemy's second system of defense. Arrangements were accordingly made for an attack to be delivered at daybreak on the morning of July 14 against a front extending from Longueval to Bazentin-le-Petit Wood, both inclusive. Contalmaison Villa, on a spur 1,000 yards west of Bazentin-le-Petit Wood, had already been captured to secure the left flank of the attack, and advantage had been taken of the progress made by our infantry to move our artillery forward into new positions. The preliminary bombardment had opened on July 11. The opportunities offered by the ground for enfilading the enemy's lines were fully utilized, and did much to secure the success of our attack.

13. In the early hours of July 14 the attacking troops moved out over the open for a distance of from about 1,000 to 1,400 yards, and lined up in the darkness just below the crest and some 300 to 500 yards from the enemy's trenches. Their advance was covered by strong patrols, and their correct deployment had been insured by careful previous preparations. The whole movement was carried out unobserved and without touch being lost in any case. The decision to attempt a night operation of this magnitude with an army, the bulk of which had been raised since the beginning of the war, was perhaps the highest tribute that could be paid to the quality of our troops. It would not have been possible but for the most careful preparation and forethought, as well as thorough reconnaissance of the ground, which was, in many cases, made personally by divisional, brigade, and battalion commanders and their staffs before framing their detailed orders for the advance.

The actual assault was delivered at 3:25 A. M. on July 14, when there was just sufficient light to be able to distinguish friend from foe at short ranges, and along the whole front attacked our troops, preceded by a very effective artillery barrage, swept over the enemy's first trenches and on into the defenses beyond.

On our right the enemy was driven from his last foothold in Trones Wood, and by 8 A. M. we had cleared the whole of it, re-

lieving a body of 170 men who had maintained themselves all night in the northern corner of the wood, although completely surrounded by the enemy. Our position in the wood was finally consolidated, and strong patrols were sent out from it in the direction of Guillemont and Longueval. The southern half of this latter village was already in the hands of the troops who had advanced west of Trones Wood. The northern half, with the exception of two strong points, was captured by 4 P. M. after a severe struggle.

In the centre of our attack Bazentin-le-Grand village and wood were also gained, and our troops pushing northward captured Bazentin-le-Petit village and the cemetery to the east. Here the enemy counterattacked twice about midday without success, and again in the afternoon, on the latter occasion momentarily reoccupying the northern half of the village as far as the church. Our troops immediately returned to the attack and drove him out again with heavy losses. To the left of the village Bazentin-le-Petit Wood was cleared, in spite of the considerable resistance of the enemy along its western edge, where we successfully repulsed a counterattack. In the afternoon further ground was gained to the west of the wood, and posts were established immediately south of Pozières.

The enemy's troops, who had been severely handled in these attacks and counterattacks, began to show signs of disorganization, and it was reported early in the afternoon that it was possible to advance to High Wood. General Rawlinson, who had held a force of cavalry in readiness for such an eventuality, decided to employ a part of it. As the fight progressed small bodies of this force had pushed forward gradually, keeping in close touch with the development of the action, and prepared to seize quickly any opportunity that might occur. A squadron now came up on the flanks of our infantry, who entered High Wood at about 8 P. M., and, after some hand-to-hand fighting, cleared the whole of the wood with the exception of the northern apex. Acting mounted in co-operation with the infantry, the cavalry came into action with good effect, killing several of the enemy and capturing some prisoners.

Fight for Longueval

14. On July 15 the battle still continued, though on a reduced scale. Arrow Head Copse, between the southern edge of Trones Wood and Guillemont, and Waterlot Farm on the Longueval-Guillemont road, were seized, and Delville Wood was captured and held against several hostile counterattacks. In Longueval fierce fighting continued until dusk for the possession of the two strong points and the orchards to the north of the village. The situation in this area made the position of our troops in High Wood somewhat precarious, and they now began to suffer numerous casualties from the enemy's

heavy shelling. Accordingly orders were given for their withdrawal, and this was effected during the night of July 15-16 without interference by the enemy. All the wounded were brought in.

In spite of repeated enemy counterattacks further progress was made on the night of July 16 along the enemy's main second-line trenches northwest of Bazentin-le-Petit Wood to within 500 yards of the northeast corner of the village of Pozières, which our troops were already approaching from the south.

Meanwhile the operations further north had also made progress. Since the attack of July 7 the enemy in and about Ovillers had been pressed relentlessly and gradually driven back by incessant bombing attacks and local assaults, in accordance with the general instructions I had given to General Sir Hubert Gough. On July 16 a large body of the garrison of Ovillers surrendered, and that night and during the following day, by a direct advance from the west across No Man's Land, our troops carried the remainder of the village and pushed out along the spur to the north and eastward toward Pozières.

New British Line

15. The results of the operations of July 4 and subsequent days were of considerable importance. The enemy's second main system of defense had been captured on a front of over three miles. We had again forced him back more than a mile, and had gained possession of the southern crest of the main ridge on a front of 6,000 yards. Four more of his fortified villages and three woods had been wrested from him by determined fighting, and our advanced troops had penetrated as far as his third line of defense. In spite of a resolute resistance and many counterattacks, in which the enemy had suffered severely, our line was definitely established from Maltz Horn Farm, where we met the French left, northward along the eastern edge of Trones Wood to Longueval, then westward past Bazentin-le-Grand to the northern corner of Bazentin-le-Petit and Bazentin-le-Petit Wood, and then westward again past the southern face of Pozières to the north of Ovillers. Posts were established at Arrow Head Copse and Waterlot Farm, while we had troops thrown forward in Delville Wood and toward High Wood, though their position was not yet secure.

I cannot speak too highly of the skill, daring, endurance, and determination by which these results had been achieved. Great credit is due to Sir Henry Rawlinson for the thoroughness and care with which this difficult undertaking was planned; while the advance and deployment made by night without confusion, and the complete success of the subsequent attack, constitute a striking tribute to the discipline and spirit of the troops engaged, as well as to the powers of leadership and organization of their commanders and staffs.

During these operations and their develop-

ment on the 15th a number of enemy guns were taken, making a total capture since July 1 eight heavy howitzers, four heavy guns, forty-two field and light guns and field howitzers, thirty trench mortars, and fifty-two machine guns. Very considerable losses had been inflicted on the enemy, and the prisoners captured amounted to over 2,000, bringing the total since July 1 to over 10,000.

16. There was strong evidence that the enemy forces engaged on the battle front had been severely shaken by the repeated successes gained by ourselves and our allies; but the great strength and depth of his defenses had secured for him sufficient time to bring up fresh troops, and he had still many powerful fortifications, both trenches, villages, and woods, to which he could cling in our front and on our flanks.

We had, indeed, secured a footing on the main ridge, but only on a front of 6,000 yards, and desirous though I was to follow up quickly the successes we had won, it was necessary first to widen this front.

West of Bazentin-le-Petit the villages of Pozières and Thiepval, together with the whole elaborate system of trenches around, between and on the main ridge behind them, had still to be carried. An advance further east would, however, eventually turn these defenses, and all that was for the present required on the left flank of our attack was a steady, methodical, step by step advance as already ordered.

An Undesirable Salient

On our right flank the situation called for stronger measures. At Delville Wood and Longueval our lines formed a sharp salient, from which our front ran on the one side westward to Pozières, and on the other southward to Maltz Horn Farm. At Maltz Horn Farm our lines joined the French, and the allied front continued still southward to the village of Hem, on the Somme.

This pronounced salient invited counterattacks by the enemy. He possessed direct observation on it all around from Guillemont on the southeast to High Wood on the northwest. He could bring a concentric fire of artillery to bear not only on the wood and village, but also on the confined space behind, through which ran the French communications as well as ours, where great numbers of guns, besides ammunition and impedimenta of all sorts, had necessarily to be crowded together. Having been in occupation of this ground for nearly two years, he knew every foot of it, and could not fail to appreciate the possibilities of causing us heavy loss there by indirect artillery fire; while it was evident that, if he could drive in the salient in our line and so gain direct observation on the ground behind, our position in that area would become very uncomfortable.

If there had not been good grounds for confidence that the enemy was not capable of driving from this position troops who had

shown themselves able to wrest it from him, the situation would have been an anxious one. In any case it was clear that the first requirement at the moment was that our right flank, and the French troops in extension of it, should swing up into line with our centre. To effect this, however, strong enemy positions had to be captured both by ourselves and by our allies.

From Delville Wood the main plateau extends for 4,000 yards east-northeast to Les Boeufs and Morval, and for about the same distance southeastward to Leuze and Bouleau Woods, which stand above and about 1,000 yards to the west of Combles. To bring my right up into line with the rest of my front it was necessary to capture Guillemont, Falfemont Farm, and Leuze Wood, and then Ginchy and Bouleau Woods. These localities were naturally very strong, and they had been elaborately fortified. The enemy's main second-line system of defense ran in front of them from Waterlot Farm, which was already in our hands, southeastward to Falfemont Farm, and thence southward to the Somme. The importance of holding us back in this area could not escape the enemy's notice, and he had dug and wired many new trenches, both in front of and behind his original lines. He had also brought up fresh troops, and there was no possibility of taking him by surprise.

Allies' Difficult Task

The task before us was, therefore, a very difficult one and entailed a real trial of strength between the opposing forces. At this juncture its difficulties were increased by unfavorable weather. The nature of the ground limited the possibility of direct observation of our artillery fire, and we were consequently much dependent on observation from the air. As in that element we had attained almost complete superiority, all that we required was a clear atmosphere; but with this we were not favored for several weeks. We had rather more rain than is usual in July and August, and even when no rain fell there was an almost constant haze and frequent low clouds.

In swinging up my own right it was very important that the French line north of the Somme should be advanced at the same time in close combination with the movement of the British troops. The line of demarkation agreed on between the French commander and myself ran from Maltz Horn Farm due eastward to the Combles Valley and then north-eastward up that valley to a point midway between Sailly-Saillisel and Morval. These two villages had been fixed upon as objectives, respectively, of the French left and of my right. In order to advance in co-operation with my right, and eventually to reach Sailly-Saillisel, our allies had still to fight their way up that portion of the main ridge which lies between the Combles Valley on the west and the River Tortille on the east. To do so they had to capture, in the first

place, the strongly fortified villages of Maurepas, Le Forest, Rancourt, and Fregicourt, besides many woods and strong systems of trenches. As the high ground on each side of the Combles Valley commands the slopes of the ridge on the opposite side, it was essential that the advance of the two armies should be simultaneous and made in the closest co-operation. This was fully recognized by both armies, and our plans were made accordingly.

To carry out the necessary preparations to deal with the difficult situation outlined above a short pause was necessary, to enable tired troops to be relieved and guns to be moved forward; while at the same time old communications had to be improved and new ones made. Intrenchments against probable counterattacks could not be neglected, and fresh dispositions of troops were required for the new attacks to be directed eastward.

It was also necessary to continue such pressure on the rest of our front, not only on the Ancre, but further south, as would make it impossible for the enemy to devote himself entirely to resisting the advance between Delville Wood and the Somme. In addition, it was desirable further to secure our hold on the main ridge west of Delville Wood by gaining more ground to our front in that direction. Orders were therefore issued in accordance with the general considerations explained above, and, without relaxing pressure along the enemy's front from Delville Wood to the west, preparations for an attack on Guillemont were pushed on.

Fight for the Woods

17. During the afternoon of July 18 the enemy developed his expected counter-attack against Delville Wood, after heavy preliminary shelling. By sheer weight of numbers, and at very heavy cost, he forced his way through the northern and north-eastern portion of the wood and into the northern half of Longueval, which our troops had cleared only that morning. In the south-east corner of the wood he was held up by a gallant defense, and further south three attacks on our positions in Waterlot Farm failed.

This enemy attack on Delville Wood marked the commencement of the long, closely contested struggle which was not finally decided in our favor till the fall of Guillemont on Sept. 3, a decision which was confirmed by the capture of Ginchy six days later. Considerable gains were indeed made during this period, but progress was slow, and bought only by hard fighting. A footing was established in High Wood on July 20, and our line linked up thence with Longueval. A subsequent advance by the Fourth Army on July 23 on a wide front from Guillemont to Pozières found the enemy in great strength all along the line, with machine guns and forward troops in shell holes and newly constructed trenches well in front of his main defenses. Although ground was won, the

strength of the resistance experienced showed that the hostile troops had recovered from their previous confusion sufficiently to necessitate long and careful preparation before further successes on any great scale could be secured.

An assault delivered simultaneously on this date by General Gough's army against Pozières gained considerable results, and by the morning of July 25 the whole of that village was carried, including the cemetery, and important progress was made along the enemy's trenches to the northeast. That evening, after heavy artillery preparation, the enemy launched two more powerful counterattacks, the one directed against our new position in and around High Wood and the other delivered from the northwest of Delville Wood. Both attacks were completely broken up with very heavy losses to the enemy.

On July 27 the remainder of Delville Wood was recovered, and two days later the northern portion of Longueval and the orchards were cleared of the enemy, after severe fighting, in which our own and the enemy's artillery were very active.

Guillemont

18. On July 30 the village of Guillemont and Falfemont Farm to the southeast were attacked, in conjunction with a French attack north of the Somme. A battalion entered Guillemont, and part of it passed through to the far side; but as the battalions on either flank did not reach their objectives, it was obliged to fall back, after holding out for some hours on the western edge of the village. In a subsequent local attack on Aug. 7 our troops again entered Guillemont, but were again compelled to fall back owing to the failure of a simultaneous effort against the enemy's trenches on the flanks of the village.

The ground to the south of Guillemont was dominated by the enemy's positions in and about that village. It was therefore hoped that these positions might be captured first, before an advance to the south of them in the direction of Falfemont Farm was pushed further forward. It had now become evident, however, that Guillemont could not be captured as an isolated enterprise without very heavy loss, and, accordingly, arrangements were made with the French Army on our immediate right for a series of combined attacks, to be delivered in progressive stages, which should embrace Maurepas, Falfemont Farm, Guillemont, Leuze Wood, and Ginchy.

An attempt on Aug. 16 to carry out the first stage of the prearranged scheme met with only partial success, and two days later, after a preliminary bombardment lasting thirty-six hours, a larger combined attack was undertaken. In spite of a number of enemy counterattacks—the most violent of which, leveled at the point of junction of the British with the French, succeeded in forcing our allies

and ourselves back from a part of the ground won—very valuable progress was made, and our troops established themselves in the outskirts of Guillemont village and occupied Guillemont Station. A violent counterattack on Guillemont Station was repulsed on Aug. 23, and next day further important progress was made on a wide front north and east of Delville Wood.

19. Apart from the operations already described, others of a minor character, yet involving much fierce and obstinate fighting, continued during this period on the fronts of both the British armies. Our lines were pushed forward wherever possible by means of local attacks and by bombing and sapping, and the enemy was driven out of various forward positions from which he might hamper our progress. By these means many gains were made which, though small in themselves, in the aggregate represented very considerable advances. In this way our line was brought to the crest of the ridge above Martinpuich, and Pozières Windmill and the high ground north of the village were secured, and with them observation over Martinpuich and Courcellette and the enemy's gun positions in their neighborhood and around Le Sars. At a later date our troops reached the defenses of Mouquet Farm, northwest of Pozières, and made progress in the enemy's trenches south of Thiepval. The enemy's counterattacks were incessant and frequently of great violence, but they were made in vain and at heavy cost to him. The fierceness of the fighting can be gathered from the fact that one regiment of the German Guards Reserve Corps which had been in the Thiepval salient opposite Mouquet Farm is known to have lost 1,400 men in fifteen days.

20. The first two days of September on both army fronts were spent in preparation for a more general attack, which the gradual progress made during the preceding month had placed us in a position to undertake. Our assault was delivered at 12 noon on Sept. 3, on a front extending from our extreme right to the third enemy trenches on the right bank of the Ancre, north of Hamel. Our allies attacked simultaneously on our right.

Guillemont was stormed and at once consolidated, and our troops pushed on unchecked to Ginchy and the line of the road running south to Wedge Wood. Ginchy was also seized, but here, in the afternoon, we were very strongly counterattacked. For three days the tide of attack and counterattack swayed backward and forward among the ruined houses of the village, till, in the end, for three days more the greater part of it remained in the enemy's possession. Three counterattacks made on the evening of Sept. 3 against our troops in Guillemont all failed, with considerable loss to the enemy. We also gained ground north of Delville Wood and in High Wood, though here an enemy

counterattack recovered part of the ground won.

On the front of General Gough's army, though the enemy suffered heavy losses in personnel, our gain in ground was slight.

Falfemont Farm and Ginchy

21. In order to keep touch with the French who were attacking on our right the assault on Falfemont Farm on Sept. 3 was delivered three hours before the opening of the main assault. In the impetus of their first rush our troops reached the farm, but could not hold it. Nevertheless, they pushed on to the north of it, and on Sept. 4 delivered a series of fresh assaults upon it from the west and north.

Ultimately this strongly fortified position was occupied piece by piece, and by the morning of Sept. 5 the whole of it was in our possession. Meanwhile further progress had been made to the northeast of the farm, where considerable initiative was shown by the local commanders. By the evening of the same day our troops were established strongly in Leuze Wood, which on the following day was finally cleared of the enemy.

22. In spite of the fact that most of Ginchy and of High Wood remained in the enemy's hands, very noteworthy progress had been made in the course of these four days' operations, exceeding anything that had been achieved since July 14. Our right was advanced on a front of nearly two miles to an average depth of nearly one mile, penetrating the enemy's original second line of defense on this front, and capturing strongly fortified positions at Falfemont Farm, Leuze Wood, Guillemont, and southeast of Delville Wood, where we reached the western outskirts of Ginchy. More important than this gain in territory was the fact that the barrier which for seven weeks the enemy had maintained against our further advance had at last been broken. Over 1,000 prisoners were taken and many machine guns captured or destroyed in the course of the fighting.

23. Preparations for a further attack upon Ginchy continued without intermission, and at 4:45 P. M., on Sept. 9, the attack was reopened on the whole of the Fourth Army front. At Ginchy and to the north of Leuze Wood it met with almost immediate success. On the right the enemy's line was seized over a front of more than 1,000 yards from the southwest corner of Bouleau Woods, in a northwesterly direction to a point just south of the Guillemont-Morval tramway. Our troops again forced their way into Ginchy, and passing beyond it carried the line of enemy trenches to the east. Further progress was made east of Delville Wood and south and east of High Wood.

Over 500 prisoners were taken in the operations of Sept. 9 and following days, making the total since July 1 over 17,000.

A Disillusioned Enemy

24. Meanwhile the French had made great progress on our right, bringing their line

forward to Louage Wood (just south of Combles)-Le Forest-Cléry-sur-Somme, all three inclusive. The weak salient in the allied line had therefore disappeared and we had gained the front required for further operations.

Still more importance, however, lay in the proof afforded by the results described of the ability of our new armies, not only to rush the enemy's strongest defenses, as had been accomplished on July 1 and 14, but also to wear down and break his power of resistance by a steady, relentless pressure, as they had done during the weeks of this fierce and protracted struggle. As has already been recounted, the preparations made for our assault on July 1 had been long and elaborate; but though the enemy knew that an attack was coming, it would seem that he considered the troops already on the spot, secure in their apparently impregnable defenses, would suffice to deal with it. The success of that assault, combined with the vigor and determination with which our troops pressed their advantage, and followed by the successful night attack of July 14, all served to awaken him to a fuller realization of his danger. The great depth of his system of fortification, to which reference has been made, gave him time to reorganize his defeated troops, and to hurry up numerous fresh divisions and more guns. Yet in spite of this, he was still pushed back, steadily and continuously. Trench after trench, and strong point after strong point were wrested from him. The great majority of his frequent counterattacks failed completely, with heavy loss; while the few that achieved temporary local success purchased it dearly, and were soon thrown back from the ground they had for the moment regained.

The enemy had, it is true, delayed our advance considerably, but the effort had cost him dear; and the comparative collapse of his resistance during the last few days of the struggle justified the belief that in the long run decisive victory would lie with our troops, who had displayed such fine fighting qualities and such indomitable endurance and resolution.

On the Main Ridge

25. Practically the whole of the forward crest of the main ridge on a front of some 9,000 yards, from Delville Wood to the road above Mouquet Farm, was now in our hands, and with it the advantage of observation over the slopes beyond. East of Delville Wood, for a further 3,000 yards to Leuze Wood, we were firmly established on the main ridge, while further east, across the Combles Valley, the French were advancing victoriously on our right. But though the centre of our line was well placed, on our flanks there was still difficult ground to be won.

From Ginchy the crest of the high ground runs northward for 2,000 yards, and then eastward, in a long spur, for nearly 4,000

yards. Near the eastern extremity of this spur stands the village of Morval, commanding a wide field of view and fire in every direction. At Leuze Wood my right was still 2,000 yards from its objective at this village, and between lay a broad and deep branch of the main Combles Valley, completely commanded by the Morval spur, and flanked, not only from its head northeast of Ginchy, but also from the high ground east of the Combles Valley, which looks directly into it.

Up this high ground beyond the Combles Valley the French were working their way toward their objective at Sailly-Saillisel, situated due east of Morval, and standing at the same level. Between these two villages the ground falls away to the head of the Combles Valley, which runs thence in a southwesterly direction. In the bottom of this valley lies the small town of Combles, then well fortified and strongly held, though dominated by my right at Leuze Wood and by the French left on the opposite heights. It had been agreed between the French and myself that an assault on Combles would not be necessary, as the place could be rendered untenable by pressing forward along the ridges above it on either side.

The capture of Morval from the south presented a very difficult problem, while the capture of Sailly-Saillisel, at that time some 3,000 yards to the north of the French left, was in some respects even more difficult. The line of the French advance was narrowed almost to a defile by the extensive and strongly fortified Wood of St. Pierre Vaast on the one side, and on the other by the Combles Valley, which, with the branches running out from it and the slopes on each side, is completely commanded, as has been pointed out, by the heights bounding the valley on the east and west.

On my right flank, therefore, the progress of the French and British forces was still interdependent, and the closest co-operation continued to be necessary in order to gain the further ground required to enable my centre to advance on a sufficiently wide front. To cope with such a situation unity of command is usually essential, but in this case the cordial good feeling between the allied armies, and the earnest desire of each to assist the other, proved equally effective, and removed all difficulties.

On my left flank the front of General Gough's army bent back from the main ridge near Mouquet Farm down a spur descending southwestward, and then crossed a broad valley to the Wonderwork, a strong point situated in the enemy's front-line system near the southern end of the spur on the higher slopes of which Thiepval stands. Opposite this part of our line we had still to carry the enemy's original defenses on the main ridge above Thiepval, and in the village itself, defenses which may fairly be described as being as nearly impregnable as nature, art,

and the unstinted labor of nearly two years could make them.

Our advance on Thiepval and on the defenses above it had been carried out up to this date, in accordance with my instructions given on July 3, by a slow and methodical progression, in which great skill and much patience and endurance had been displayed with entirely satisfactory results. General Gough's army had, in fact, acted most successfully in the required manner as a pivot to the remainder of the attack. The Thiepval defenses were known to be exceptionally strong, and as immediate possession of them was not necessary to the development of my plans after July 1, there had been no need to incur the heavy casualties to be expected in an attempt to rush them. The time was now approaching, although it had not yet arrived, when their capture would become necessary; but from the positions we had now reached and those which we expected shortly to obtain, I had no doubt that they could be rushed when required without undue loss. An important part of the remaining positions required for my assault on them was now won by a highly successful enterprise carried out on the evening of Sept. 14, by which the Wonderwork was stormed.

The "Tanks" in Action

26. The general plan of the combined allied attack which was opened on Sept. 15 was to pivot on the high ground south of the Ancre and north of the Albert-Bapaume road, while the Fourth Army devoted its whole effort to the rearmost of the enemy's original systems of defense between Morval and Le Sars. Should our success in this direction warrant it I made arrangements to enable me to extend the left of the attack to embrace the villages of Martinpuich and Courcellette. As soon as our advance on this front had reached the Morval line, the time would have arrived to bring forward my left across the Thiepval Ridge. Meanwhile on my right our allies arranged to continue the line of advance in close co-operation with me from the Somme to the slopes above Combles, but directing their main effort northward against the villages of Rancourt and Frégicourt, so as to complete the isolation of Combles and open the way for their attack upon Sailly-Saillisel.

27. A methodical bombardment was commenced at 6 A. M. on Sept. 12, and was continued steadily and uninterruptedly till the moment of attack.

At 6:20 A. M. on Sept. 15 the infantry assault commenced, and at the same moment the bombardment became intense. Our new heavily armored cars, known as "tanks," now brought into action for the first time, successfully co-operated with the infantry, and, coming as a surprise to the enemy rank and file, gave valuable help in breaking down their resistance.

The advance met with immediate success on

almost the whole of the front attacked. At 8:40 A. M. "tanks" were seen to be entering Flers, followed by large numbers of troops. Fighting continued in Flers for some time, but by 10 A. M. our troops had reached the north side of the village, and by midday had occupied the enemy's trenches for some distance beyond. On our right our line was advanced to within assaulting distance of the strong line of defense running before Morval, Les Boeufs, and Gueudecourt, and on our left High Wood was at last carried after many hours of very severe fighting, reflecting great credit on the attacking battalions. Our success made it possible to carry out during the afternoon that part of the plan which provided for the capture of Martinpuich and Courcellette, and by the end of the day both these villages were in our hands. On Sept. 18 the work of this day was completed by the capture of the Quadrilateral, an enemy stronghold which had hitherto blocked the progress of our right toward Morval. Further progress was also made between Flers and Martinpuich.

28. The result of the fighting of Sept. 15 and following days was a gain more considerable than any which had attended our arms in the course of a single operation since the commencement of the offensive. In the course of one day's fighting we had broken through two of the enemy's main defensive systems and had advanced on a front of over six miles to an average depth of a mile. In the course of this advance we had taken three large villages, each powerfully organized for prolonged resistance. Two of these villages had been carried by assault with short preparation in the course of a few hours' fighting. All this had been accomplished with a small number of casualties in comparison with the troops employed, and in spite of the fact that, as was afterward discovered, the attack did not come as a complete surprise to the enemy.

The total number of prisoners taken by us in these operations since their commencement on the evening of Sept. 14 amounted at this date to over 4,000, including 127 officers.

Fall of Morval and Combles

29. Preparations for our further advance were again hindered by bad weather, but at 12:35 P. M. on Sept. 25, after a bombardment commenced early in the morning of the 24th, a general attack by the Allies was launched on the whole front between the Somme and Martinpuich. The objectives on the British front included the villages of Morval, Les Boeufs, and Gueudecourt, and a belt of country about 1,000 yards deep curving round the north of Flers to a point midway between that village and Martinpuich. By nightfall the whole of these objectives were in our hands, with the exception of the village of Gueudecourt, before which our troops met with very serious resistance from a party of the enemy in a section of his fourth main system of defense.

On our right our allies carried the village

of Rancourt, and advanced their line to the outskirts of Frégicourt, capturing that village also during the night and early morning. Combles was therefore nearly surrounded by the allied forces, and in the early morning of Sept. 26 the village was occupied simultaneously by the allied forces, the British to the north and the French to the south of the railway. The capture of Combles in this inexpensive fashion represented a not inconsiderable tactical success. Though lying in a hollow, the village was very strongly fortified, and possessed, in addition to the works which the enemy had constructed, exceptionally large cellars and galleries, at a great depth under ground, sufficient to give effectual shelter to troops and material under the heaviest bombardment. Great quantities of stores and ammunition of all sorts were found in these cellars when the village was taken.

On the same day Gueudecourt was carried, after the protecting trench to the west had been captured in a somewhat interesting fashion. In the early morning a "tank" started down the portion of the trench held by the enemy from the northwest, firing its machine guns and followed by bombers. The enemy could not escape, as we held the trench at the southern end. At the same time an aeroplane flew down the length of the trench, also firing a machine gun at the enemy holding it. These then waved white handkerchiefs in token of surrender, and when this was reported by the aeroplane the infantry accepted the surrender of the garrison. By 8:30 A. M. the whole trench had been cleared, great numbers of the enemy had been killed, and 8 officers and 362 of the ranks made prisoners. Our total casualties amounted to five.

Thiepval and Ridge Captured

30. The success of the Fourth Army had now brought our advance to the stage at which I judged it advisable that Thiepval should be taken, in order to bring our left flank into line and establish it on the main ridge above that village, the possession of which would be of considerable tactical value in future operations.

Accordingly at 12:25 P. M. on Sept. 26, before the enemy had been given time to recover from the blow struck by the Fourth Army, a general attack was launched against Thiepval and the Thiepval Ridge. The objective consisted of the whole of the high ground still remaining in enemy hands extending over a front of some 3,000 yards north and east of Thiepval, and including, in addition to that fortress, the Zollern Redoubt, the Stuff Redoubt, and the Schwaben Redoubt, with the connecting lines of trenches.

The attack was a brilliant success. On the right our troops reached the system of enemy trenches which formed their objectives without great difficulty. In Thiepval and the strong works to the north of it the enemy's

resistance was more desperate. Three waves of our attacking troops carried the outer defenses of Mouquet Farm, and, pushing on, entered Zollern Redoubt, which they stormed and consolidated. In the strong point formed by the buildings of the farm itself, the enemy garrison, securely posted in deep cellars, held out until 6 P. M., when their last defenses were forced by a working party of a pioneer battalion acting on its own initiative.

On the left of the attack fierce fighting, in which "tanks" again gave valuable assistance to our troops, continued in Thiepval during that day and the following night, but by 8:30 A. M. on Sept. 27 the whole of the village of Thiepval was in our hands.

Nearly 10,000 Prisoners Taken

Some 2,300 prisoners were taken in the course of the fighting on the Thiepval Ridge on these and the subsequent days, bringing the total number of prisoners taken in the battle area in the operations of Sept. 14-30 to nearly 10,000. In the same period we had captured 27 guns, over 200 machine guns, and some 40 trench mortars.

31. On the same date the south and west sides of Stuff Redoubt were carried by our troops, together with the length of trench connecting that strong point with Schwaben Redoubt to the west and also the greater part of the enemy's defensive line eastward along the northern slopes of the ridge. Schwaben Redoubt was assaulted during the afternoon, and in spite of counterattacks, delivered by strong enemy reinforcements, we captured the whole of the southern face of the redoubt and pushed out patrols to the northern face and toward St. Pierre Divion.

Our line was also advanced north of Courcelette, while on the Fourth Army front a further portion of the enemy's fourth system of defense northwest of Gueudecourt was carried on a front of a mile. Between these two points the enemy fell back upon his defenses running in front of Eaucourt l'Abbaye and Le Sars, and on the afternoon and evening of Sept. 27 our troops were able to make a very considerable advance in this area without encountering serious opposition until within a few hundred yards of this line. The ground thus occupied extended to a depth of from 500 to 600 yards on a front of nearly two miles between the Bazentin-le-Petit, Lingy, Thillois, and Albert-Bapaume roads.

Destremont Farm, southwest of Le Sars, was carried by a single company on Sept. 29, and on the afternoon of Oct. 1 a successful attack was launched against Eaucourt l'Abbaye and the enemy defenses to the east and west of it, comprising a total front of about 3,000 yards. Our artillery barrage was extremely accurate, and contributed greatly to the success of the attack. Bomb fighting continued among the buildings during the next two days, but by the evening of Oct. 3 the whole of Eaucourt l'Abbaye was in our hands.

32. At the end of September I had handed over Morval to the French, in order to facili-

tate their attacks on Sailly-Saillisel, and on Oct. 7, after a postponement rendered necessary by three days' continuous rain, our allies made a considerable advance in the direction of the latter village. On the same day the Fourth Army attacked along the whole front from Les Boeufs to Destremont Farm in support of the operations of our allies.

The village of Le Sars was captured, together with the quarry to the northwest, while considerable progress was made at other points along the front attacked. In particular, to the east of Gueudecourt, the enemy's trenches were carried on a breadth of some 2,000 yards, and a footing gained on the crest of the long spur which screens the defenses of Le Transloy from the southwest. Nearly 1,000 prisoners were secured by the Fourth Army in the course of these operations.

33. With the exception of his positions in the neighborhood of Sailly-Saillisel, and his scanty foothold on the northern crest of the high ground above Thiepval, the enemy had now been driven from the whole of the ridge lying between the Tortille and the Ancre.

Possession of the northwestern portion of the ridge north of the latter village carried with it observation over the valley of the Ancre between Miraumont and Hamel and the spurs and valleys held by the enemy on the right bank of the river. The Germans, therefore, made desperate efforts to cling to their last remaining trenches in this area, and in the course of the three weeks following our advance made repeated counterattacks at heavy cost in the vain hope of recovering the ground they had lost. During this period our gains in the neighborhood of Stuff and Schwaben Redoubts were gradually increased and secured in readiness for future operations; and I was quite confident of the ability of our troops, not only to repulse the enemy's attacks, but to clear him entirely from his last positions on the ridge whenever it should suit my plans to do so. I was, therefore, well content with the situation on this flank.

Along the centre of our line from Gueudecourt to the west of Le Sars similar considerations applied. As we were already well down the forward slopes of the ridge on his front, it was for the time being inadvisable to make any serious advance. Pending developments elsewhere all that was necessary or indeed desirable was to carry on local operations to improve our positions and to keep the enemy fully employed.

Fighting in Rivers of Mud

On our eastern flank, on the other hand, it was important to gain ground. Here the enemy still possessed a strong system of trenches covering the villages of Le Transloy and Beaulencourt and the town of Bapaume; but, although he was digging with feverish haste, he had not yet been able to create any very formidable defenses behind this line. In

this direction, in fact, we had at last reached a stage at which a successful attack might reasonably be expected to yield much greater results than anything we had yet attained. The resistance of the troops opposed to us had seriously weakened in the course of our recent operations, and there was no reason to suppose that the effort required would not be within our powers.

The last completed system of defense, before Le Transloy, was flanked to the south by the enemy's positions at Saily-Saillisel, and screened to the west by the spur lying between Le Transloy and Les Boeufs. A necessary preliminary, therefore, to an assault upon it was to secure the spur and the Saily-Saillisel heights. Possession of the high ground at this latter village would at once give a far better command over the ground to the north and northwest, secure the flank of our operations toward Le Transloy, and deprive the enemy of observation over the allied communications in the Combles Valley. In view of the enemy's efforts to construct new systems of defense behind the Le Transloy spur was extended and secured, time in dealing with the situation.

Unfortunately, at this juncture, very unfavorable weather set in and continued with scarcely a break during the remainder of October and the early part of November. Poor visibility seriously interfered with the work of our artillery, and constant rain turned the mass of hastily dug trenches for which we were fighting into channels of deep mud. The country roads, broken by countless shell craters, that cross the deep stretch of ground we had lately won, rapidly became almost impassable, making the supply of food, stores, and ammunition a serious problem. These conditions multiplied the difficulties of attack to such an extent that it was found impossible to exploit the situation with the rapidity necessary to enable us to reap the full benefits of the advantages we had gained.

None the less, my right flank continued to assist the operations of our allies against Saillisel, and attacks were made to this end, whenever a slight improvement in the weather made the co-operation of artillery and infantry at all possible. The delay in our advance, however, though unavoidable, had given the enemy time to reorganize and rally his troops. His resistance again became stubborn and he seized every favorable opportunity for counterattacks. Trenches changed hands with great frequency, the conditions of ground making it difficult to renew exhausted supplies of bombs and ammunition, or to consolidate the ground won, and so rendering it an easier matter to take a battered trench than to hold it.

34. On Sept. 12 and 18 further gains were made to the east of the Les Boeufs-Gueudecourt line and east of Le Sars, and some hundreds of prisoners were taken. On these dates, despite all the difficulties of ground, the French first reached and then captured

the villages of Saily-Saillisel, but the moment for decisive action was rapidly passing away, while the weather showed no signs of improvement. By this time, too, the ground had already become so bad that nothing less than a prolonged period of drying weather, which at that season of the year was most unlikely to occur, would suit our purpose.

In these circumstances, while continuing to do all that was possible to improve my position on my right flank, I determined to press on with preparations for the exploitation of the favorable local situation on my left flank. At midday on Oct. 21, during a short spell of fine, cold weather, the line of Regina Trench and Stuff Trench, from the west Courcelette-Pys road westward to Schwaben Redoubt, was attacked with complete success. Assisted by an excellent artillery preparation and barrage, our infantry carried the whole of their objectives very quickly and with remarkably little loss, and our new line was firmly established in spite of the enemy's shell fire. Over one thousand prisoners were taken in the course of the day's fighting, a figure only slightly exceeded by our casualties.

On Oct 23, and again on Nov. 5, while awaiting better weather for further operations on the Ancre, our attacks on the enemy's positions to the east of Les Boeufs and Gueudecourt were renewed, in conjunction with French operations against the Saily-Saillisel heights and St. Pierre Vaast Wood. Considerable further progress was achieved. Our footing at the crest of Le Transloy Spur was extended and secured, and the much-contested tangle of trenches at our junction with the French left at last passed definitely into our possession. Many smaller gains were made in this neighborhood by local assaults during these days, in spite of the difficult conditions of the ground. In particular, on Nov. 10, after a day of improved weather, the portion of Regina Trench lying to the east of the Courcelette-Pys road was carried on a front of about one thousand yards.

Throughout these operations the enemy's counterattacks were very numerous and determined, succeeding indeed in the evening of Oct. 23 in regaining a portion of the ground east of Le Sars taken from him by our attack on that day. On all other occasions his attacks were broken by our artillery or infantry and the losses incurred by him in these attempts, made frequently with considerable effectives, were undoubtedly very severe.

Attack on the Ancre

35. On Nov. 9 the long-continued bad weather took a turn for the better, and thereafter remained dry and cold, with frosty nights and misty mornings, for some days. Final preparations were therefore pushed on for the attack on the Ancre, though, as the ground was still very bad in places, it was

necessary to limit the operations to what it would be reasonably possible to consolidate and hold under the existing conditions.

The enemy's defenses in this area were already extremely formidable when they resisted our assault on July 1, and the succeeding period of four months had been spent in improving and adding to them in the light of the experience he had gained in the course of our attacks further south. The hamlet of St. Pierre Divion and the villages of Beaucourt-sur-Ancre and Beaumont Hamel, like the rest of the villages forming part of the enemy's original front in this district, were evidently intended by him to form a permanent line of fortifications, while he developed his offensive elsewhere. Realizing that his position in them had become a dangerous one, the enemy had multiplied the number of his guns covering this part of his line, and at the end of October introduced an additional division on his front between Grandcourt and Hébuterne.

36. At 5 o'clock on the morning of Nov. 11 the special bombardment preliminary to the attack was commenced. It continued with bursts of great intensity until 5:45 o'clock on the morning of Nov. 13, when it developed into a very effective barrage covering the assaulting infantry.

At that hour our troops advanced on the enemy's position through dense fog, and rapidly entered his first-line trenches on almost the whole of the front attacked, from east of Schwaben Redoubt to the north of Serre. South of the Ancre, where our assault was directed northward against the enemy's trenches on the northern slopes of the Thiepval Ridge, it met with a success altogether remarkable for rapidity of execution and lightness of cost. By 7:20 A. M. our objectives east of St. Pierre Divion had been captured, and the Germans in and about that hamlet were hemmed in between our troops and the river. Many of the enemy were driven into their dugouts and surrendered, and at 9 A. M. the number of prisoners was actually greater than the attacking force. St. Pierre Divion soon fell, and in this area nearly 1,400 prisoners were taken by a single division at the expense of less than 600 casualties. The rest of our forces operating south of the Ancre attained their objectives with equal completeness and success.

Struggle North of the Ancre

North of the river the struggle was more severe, but very satisfactory results were achieved. Though parties of the enemy held out for some hours during the day in strong points at various places along his first line and in Beaumont Hamel, the main attack pushed on. The troops attacking close to the right bank of the Ancre reached their second objectives to the west and northwest of Beaucourt during the morning, and held on there for the remainder of the day and night, though practically isolated from the rest of our attacking troops. Their tenacity was of the utmost value, and contributed

very largely to the success of the operations. At nightfall our troops were established on the western outskirts of Beaucourt, in touch with our forces south of the river, and held a line along the station road from the Ancre toward Beaumont Hamel, where we occupied the village. Further north the enemy's first-line system for a distance of about half a mile beyond Beaumont Hamel was also in our hands. Still further north—opposite Serre—the ground was so heavy that it became necessary to abandon the attack at an early stage, although, despite all difficulties, our troops had in places reached the enemy's trenches in the course of their assault.

Next morning, at an early hour, the attack was renewed between Beaucourt and the top of the spur just north of Beaumont Hamel. The whole of Beaumont was carried, and our line extended to the northwest along the Beaucourt road across the southern end of the Beaumont Hamel spur. The number of our prisoners steadily rose, and during this and the succeeding days our front was carried forward eastward and northward up the slopes of the Beaumont Hamel spur.

The results of this attack were very satisfactory, especially as before its completion bad weather had set in again. We had secured the command of the Ancre Valley on both banks of the river at the point where it entered the enemy's lines, and, without great cost to ourselves, losses had been inflicted on the enemy which he himself admitted to be considerable. Our final total of prisoners taken in these operations, and their development during the subsequent days, exceeded 7,200, including 149 officers.

37. Throughout the period dealt with in this dispatch the rôle of the other armies holding our defensive line from the northern limits of the battle front to beyond Ypres was necessarily a secondary one, but their task was neither light nor unimportant. While required to give precedence in all respects to the needs of the Somme battle, they were responsible for the security of the line held by them and for keeping the enemy on their front constantly on the alert. Their rôle was a very trying one, entailing heavy work on the troops and constant vigilance on the part of commanders and staffs. It was carried out to my entire satisfaction, and in an unflinching spirit of unselfish and broad-minded devotion to the general good, which is deserving of the highest commendation.

Some idea of the thoroughness with which their duties were performed can be gathered from the fact that in the period of four and a half months from July 1 some 360 raids were carried out, in the course of which the enemy suffered many casualties and some hundreds of prisoners were taken by us. The largest of these operations was undertaken on July 19 in the neighborhood of Armentières. Our troops penetrated deeply into the enemy's defenses, doing much damage to his works and inflicting severe losses upon him.

Objects Achieved by Somme Battle

38. The three main objects with which we had commenced our offensive in July had already been achieved at the date when this account closes, in spite of the fact that the heavy Autumn rains had prevented full advantage from being taken of the favorable situation created by our advance, at a time when we had good grounds for hoping to achieve yet more important successes.

Verdun had been relieved, the main German forces had been held on the western front, and the enemy's strength had been very considerably worn down.

Any one of these three results is in itself sufficient to justify the Somme battle. The attainment of all three of them affords ample compensation for the splendid efforts of our troops and for the sacrifices made by ourselves and our allies. They have brought us a long step forward toward the final victory of the allied cause.

The desperate struggle for the possession of Verdun had invested that place with a moral and political importance out of all proportion to its military value. Its fall would undoubtedly have been proclaimed as a great victory for our enemies, and would have shaken the faith of many in our ultimate success. The failure of the enemy to capture it, despite great efforts and very heavy losses, was a severe blow to his prestige, especially in view of the confidence he had openly expressed as to the results of the struggle.

Information obtained both during the progress of the Somme battle and since the suspension of active operations has fully established the effect of our offensive in keeping the enemy's main forces tied to the western front. A movement of German troops eastward, which had commenced in June as a result of the Russian successes, continued for a short time only after the opening of the allied attack. Thereafter the enemy forces that moved east consisted, with one exception, of divisions that had been exhausted in the Somme battle, and these troops were always replaced on the western front by fresh divisions. In November the strength of the enemy in the western theatre of war was greater than in July, notwithstanding the abandonment of his offensive at Verdun. It is possible that if Verdun had fallen large forces might still have been employed in an endeavor further to exploit that success. It is, however, far more probable, in view of developments in the eastern theatre, that a considerable transfer of troops in that direction would have followed. It is therefore justifiable to conclude that the Somme offensive not only relieved Verdun but held large forces which would otherwise have been employed against our allies in the east.

The third great object of the allied operations on the Somme was the wearing down of the enemy's powers of resistance. Any statement of the extent to which this has been attained must depend in some degree on esti-

mates. There is, nevertheless, sufficient evidence to place it beyond doubt that the enemy's losses in men and material have been very considerably higher than those of the Allies, while morally the balance of advantage on our side is still greater.

During the period under review a steady deterioration took place in the morale of large numbers of the enemy's troops. Many of them, it is true, fought with the greatest determination, even in the latest encounters, but the resistance of still larger numbers became latterly decidedly feeble than it had been in the earlier stages of the battle. Aided by the great depth of his defenses and by the frequent reliefs which his resources in men enabled him to effect, discipline and training held the machine together sufficiently to enable the enemy to rally and reorganize his troops after each fresh defeat. As our advance progressed, four-fifths of the total number of divisions engaged on the western front were thrown one after another into the Somme battle, some of them twice, and some three times; and toward the end of the operations, when the weather unfortunately broke, there can be no doubt that his power of resistance had been very seriously diminished.

Tribute to British Troops

The number of prisoners taken by us in the Somme battle between July 1 and Nov. 18 is just over 38,000, including over 800 officers. During the same period we captured 29 heavy guns, 96 field guns and field howitzers, 136 trench mortars, and 514 machine guns.

So far as these results are due to the action of the British forces, they have been attained by troops the vast majority of whom had been raised and trained during the war. Many of them, especially among the drafts sent to replace wastage, counted their service by months, and gained in the Somme battle their first experience of war. The conditions under which we entered the war had made this unavoidable. We were compelled either to use hastily trained and inexperienced officers and men, or else to defer the offensive until we had trained them. In this latter case we should have failed our allies. That these troops should have accomplished so much under such conditions, and against an army and a nation whose chief concern for so many years has been preparation for war, constitutes a feat of which the history of our nation records no equal. The difficulties and hardships cheerfully overcome, and the endurance, determination, and invincible courage shown in meeting them, can hardly be imagined by those who have not had personal experience of the battle, even though they have themselves seen something of war.

The events which I have described in this dispatch form but a bare outline of the more important occurrences. To deal in any detail even with these without touching on the smaller fights and the ceaseless work in the trenches continuing day and night for five

months is not possible here. Nor have I deemed it permissible in this dispatch, much as I desired to do so, to particularize the units, brigades, or divisions especially connected with the different events described. It would not be possible to do so without giving useful information to the enemy. Recommendations for individual rewards have been forwarded separately, and in due course full details will be made known. Meanwhile, it must suffice to say that troops from every part of the British Isles, and from every dominion and quarter of the empire, whether regulars, territorials, or men of the new armies, have borne a share in the battle of the Somme. While some have been more fortunate than others in opportunities for distinction, all have done their duty nobly.

Among all the long roll of victories borne on the colors of our regiments there has never been a higher test of the endurance and resolution of our infantry. They have shown themselves worthy of the highest traditions of our race and of the proud records of former wars.

Against such defenses as we had to assault—far more formidable in many respects than those of the most famous fortresses in history—infantry would have been powerless without thoroughly efficient artillery preparation and support. The work of our artillery was wholly admirable, though the strain on the personnel was enormous. The excellence of the results attained was the more remarkable in view of the shortness of the training of most of the junior officers and of the N. C. O.'s and men. Despite this, they rose to a very high level of technical and tactical skill, and the combination between artillery and infantry, on which, above everything, victory depends, was an outstanding feature of the battle. Good even in July, it improved with experience, until in the latter assaults it approached perfection.

The Royal Flying Corps

In this combination between infantry and artillery the Royal Flying Corps played a highly important part. The admirable work of this corps has been a very satisfactory feature of the battle. Under the conditions of modern war the duties of the Air Service are many and varied. They include the regulation and control of artillery fire by indicating targets and observing and reporting the results of rounds; the taking of photographs of enemy trenches, strong points, battery positions, and of the effect of bombardments; and the observation of the movements of the enemy behind his lines.

The greatest skill and daring has been shown in the performance of all these duties, as well as in bombing expeditions. Our Air Service has also co-operated with our infantry in their assaults, signaling the position of our attacking troops and turning machine guns on to the enemy infantry and even on to his batteries in action.

Not only has the work of the Royal Flying

Corps to be carried out in all weathers and under constant fire from the ground, but fighting in the air has now become a normal procedure, in order to maintain the mastery over the enemy's Air Service. In these fights the greatest skill and determination have been shown, and great success has attended the efforts of the Royal Flying Corps. I desire to point out, however, that the maintenance of mastery in the air, which is essential, entails a constant and liberal supply of the most up-to-date machines, without which even the most skillful pilots cannot succeed.

The style of warfare in which we have been engaged offered no scope for cavalry action with the exception of the one instance already mentioned, in which a small body of cavalry gave useful assistance in the advance on High Wood.

Work of Other Services

Intimately associated with the artillery and infantry in attack and defense the work of various special services contributed much toward the successes gained.

Trench mortars, both heavy and light, have become an important adjunct to artillery in trench warfare, and valuable work has been done by the personnel in charge of these weapons. Considerable experience has been gained in their use, and they are likely to be employed even more frequently in the struggle in future.

Machine guns play a great part—almost a decisive part under some conditions—in modern war, and our Machine Gun Corps has attained to considerable proficiency in their use, handling them with great boldness and skill. The highest value of these weapons is displayed on the defensive rather than in the offensive, and we were attacking. Nevertheless, in attack also machine guns can exercise very great influence in the hands of men with a quick eye for opportunity and capable of a bold initiative. The Machine Gun Corps, though comparatively recently formed, has done very valuable work and will increase in importance.

The part played by the new armored cars—known as "tanks"—in some of the later fights has been brought to notice by me already in my daily reports. These cars proved of great value on various occasions, and the personnel in charge of them performed many deeds of remarkable valor.

The employment by the enemy of gas and of liquid flame as weapons of offense compelled us not only to discover ways to protect our troops from their effects but also to devise means to make use of the same instruments of destruction. Great fertility of invention has been shown, and very great credit is due to the special personnel employed for the rapidity and success with which these new arms have been developed and perfected, and for the very great devotion to duty they have displayed in a difficult and dangerous service. The army owes its thanks to the chemists, physiologists, and

physicists of the highest rank who devoted their energies to enabling us to surpass the enemy in the use of a means of warfare which took the civilized world by surprise. Our own experience of the numerous experiments and trials necessary before gas and flame could be used, of the great preparations which had to be made for their manufacture, and of the special training required for the personnel employed, shows that the employment of such methods by the Germans was not the result of a desperate decision, but had been prepared for deliberately.

Since we have been compelled, in self-defense, to use similar methods, it is satisfactory to be able to record, on the evidence of prisoners, of documents captured, and of our own observation, that the enemy has suffered heavy casualties from our gas attacks, while the means of protection adopted by us have proved thoroughly effective.

Praise of the Engineers

Throughout the operations engineer troops, both from home and overseas, have played an important rôle, and in every engagement the field companies, assisted by pioneers, have co-operated with the other arms with the greatest gallantry and devotion to duty.

In addition to the demands made on the services of the Royal Engineers in the firing line, the duties of the corps during the preparation and development of the offensive embraced the execution of a vast variety of important works, to which attention has already been drawn in this dispatch. Whether in or behind the firing line, or on the lines of communication, these skilled troops have continued to show the power of resource and the devotion to duty by which they have ever been characterized.

The tunneling companies still maintain their superiority over the enemy underground, thus safeguarding their comrades in the trenches. Their skill, enterprise, and courage have been remarkable, and, thanks to their efforts, the enemy has nowhere been able to achieve a success of any importance by mining.

During the battle of the Somme the work of the tunneling companies contributed in no small degree to the successful issue of several operations.

The field survey companies have worked throughout with ability and devotion, and have not only maintained a constant supply of the various maps required as the battle progressed, but have in various other ways been of great assistance to the artillery.

The Signal Service, created a short time before the war began on a very small scale, has expanded in proportion with the rest of the army, and is now a very large organization.

It provides the means of intercommunication between all the armies and all parts of them, and in modern war requirements in this respect are on an immense and elaborate scale. The calls on this service have been very heavy, entailing a most severe strain, often under most trying and dangerous conditions. Those calls have invariably been met

with conspicuous success, and no service has shown a more whole-hearted and untiring energy in the fulfillment of its duty.

Supply System Never Failed

The great strain of the five months' battle was met with equal success by the Army Service Corps and the Ordnance Corps, as well as by all the other administrative services and departments, both on the lines of communication and in front of them. The maintenance of large armies in a great battle under modern conditions is a colossal task. Though bad weather often added very considerably to the difficulties of transport, the troops never wanted for food, ammunition, or any of the other many and varied requirements for the supply of which these services and departments are responsible. This fact in itself is the highest testimony that can be given to the energy and efficiency with which the work was conducted.

In connection with the maintenance and supply of our troops, I desire to express the obligation of the army to the navy for the unflinching success with which, in the face of every difficulty, the large numbers of men and the vast quantities of material required by us have been transported across the seas.

I also desire to record the obligation of the army in the field to the various authorities at home, and to the workers under them—women as well as men—by whose efforts and self-sacrifice all our requirements were met. Without the vast quantities of munitions and stores of all sorts provided, and without the drafts of men sent to replace wastage, the efforts of our troops could not have been maintained.

Heroic Medical Service

The losses entailed by the constant fighting threw a specially heavy strain on the medical services. This has been met with the greatest zeal and efficiency. The gallantry and devotion with which officers and men of the regimental medical service and field ambulances have discharged their duties is shown by the large number of the R. A. M. C. and Medical Corps of the dominions who have fallen in the field. The work of the medical services behind the front has been no less arduous. The untiring professional zeal and marked ability of the surgical specialists and consulting surgeons, combined with the skill and devotion of the medical and nursing staffs, both at the casualty clearing stations in the field and the stationary and general hospitals at the base, have been beyond praise. In this respect also the Director General has on many occasions expressed to me the immense help the British Red Cross Society has been to him in assisting the R. A. M. C. in its work.

The health of the troops has been most satisfactory, and, during the period to which this dispatch refers, there has been an almost complete absence of wastage due to disease of a preventable nature.

With such large forces as we now have in the field, the control exercised by a Com-

mander in Chief is necessarily restricted to a general guidance, and great responsibilities devolve on the army commanders.

In the Somme battle these responsibilities were intrusted to Generals Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir Hubert Gough, commanding respectively the Fourth and Fifth Armies, who for five months controlled the operations of very large forces in one of the greatest if not absolutely the greatest struggle that has ever taken place.

It is impossible to speak too highly of the great qualities displayed by these commanders throughout the battle. Their thorough knowledge of the profession and their cool and sound judgment, tact, and determination proved fully equal to every call on them. They entirely justified their selection for such responsible commands.

The preparations for the battle, with the exception of those at Gommecourt, were carried out under Sir Henry Rawlinson's orders. It was not until after the assault of July 1 that Sir Hubert Gough was placed in charge of a portion of the front of attack, in order to enable Sir Henry Rawlinson to devote his whole attention to the area in which I then decided to concentrate the main effort.

The army commanders have brought to my notice the excellent work done by their staff officers and technical advisers, as well as by the various commanders and staffs serving under them, and I have already submitted the names of the various officers and others recommended by them.

I desire also to record my obligation to my own staff at General Headquarters and on the lines of communication, and to the various technical advisers attached thereto for their loyal and untiring assistance.

Throughout the operations the whole army has worked with a remarkable absence of friction and with a self-sacrifice and whole-hearted devotion to the common cause which is beyond praise. This has insured and will continue to insure the utmost concentration

of effort. It is indeed a privilege to work with such officers and with such men.

I cannot close this dispatch without alluding to the happy relations which continue to exist between the allied armies and between our troops and the civil population in France and Belgium. The unfailing co-operation of our allies, their splendid fighting qualities, and the kindness and good-will universally displayed toward us have won the gratitude as well as the respect and admiration of all ranks of the British armies.

Future Prospects

In conclusion, I desire to add a few words as to future prospects.

The enemy's power has not yet been broken, nor is it yet possible to form an estimate of the time the war may last before the objects for which the Allies are fighting have been attained. But the Somme battle has placed beyond doubt the ability of the Allies to gain those objects. The German Army is the mainstay of the Central Powers, and a full half of that army, despite all the advantages of the defensive, supported by the strongest fortifications, suffered defeat on the Somme this year. Neither victors nor the vanquished will forget this; and, though bad weather has given the enemy a respite, there will undoubtedly be many thousands in his ranks who will begin the new campaign with little confidence in their ability to resist our assaults or to overcome our defense.

Our new armies entered the battle with the determination to win and with confidence in their power to do so. They have proved to themselves, to the enemy, and to the world that this confidence was justified, and in the fierce struggle they have been through they have learned many valuable lessons which will help them in the future.

I have the honor to be, your Lordship's obedient servant,
D. HAIG,
General, Commanding in Chief, British Armies in France.

How France Breaks the News to Bereaved Families

A correspondent of a London paper, criticising the British official method of announcing the sad news of the fallen, thus describes the more humane procedure used in France:

I think we could not do better than to copy the method used by the French Ministry of War in communicating the news of the death of each heroic soldier to his family. Instead of sending the cold, bare fact by telegraph or post, the news is sent to that important official in French public life, the local Mayor. The document requests him to convey the sad news to the bereaved with all possible sympathy and delicacy and to report to the Ministry of War the date upon which the visit was made. The Mayor, in his turn, has willing helpers in the matter, who personally visit the relatives and offer them the thanks of the French Nation for their sacrifice and express to them those words of comfort which are so precious at such a time. I have just returned from Paris, where I was enabled to judge personally of the excellent results of this system and to see its effects upon the spirit of the people—a spirit which is the admiration of the whole world.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Italian Cartoon]

Germany's Last Resort



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

The chained eagle spells "Peace" with its chains.

[Dutch Cartoons]

The Allies' Answer



To the end!

Futile Regrets

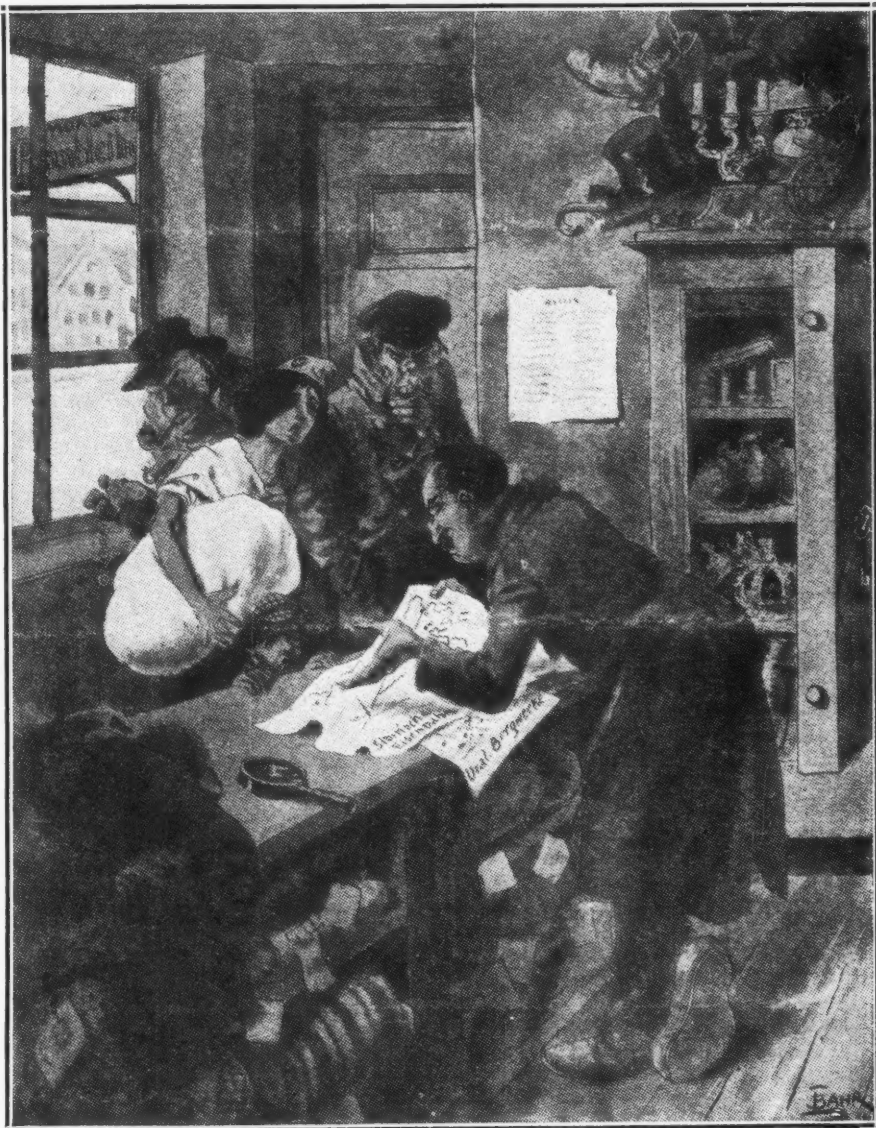


—From *De Notenkraker*, Amsterdam.

THE LEARNER (to the sea of blood):
“Back, I say, back!”
THE MASTER: “Ha ha!!!”

[German Cartoon]

The American Pawnshop



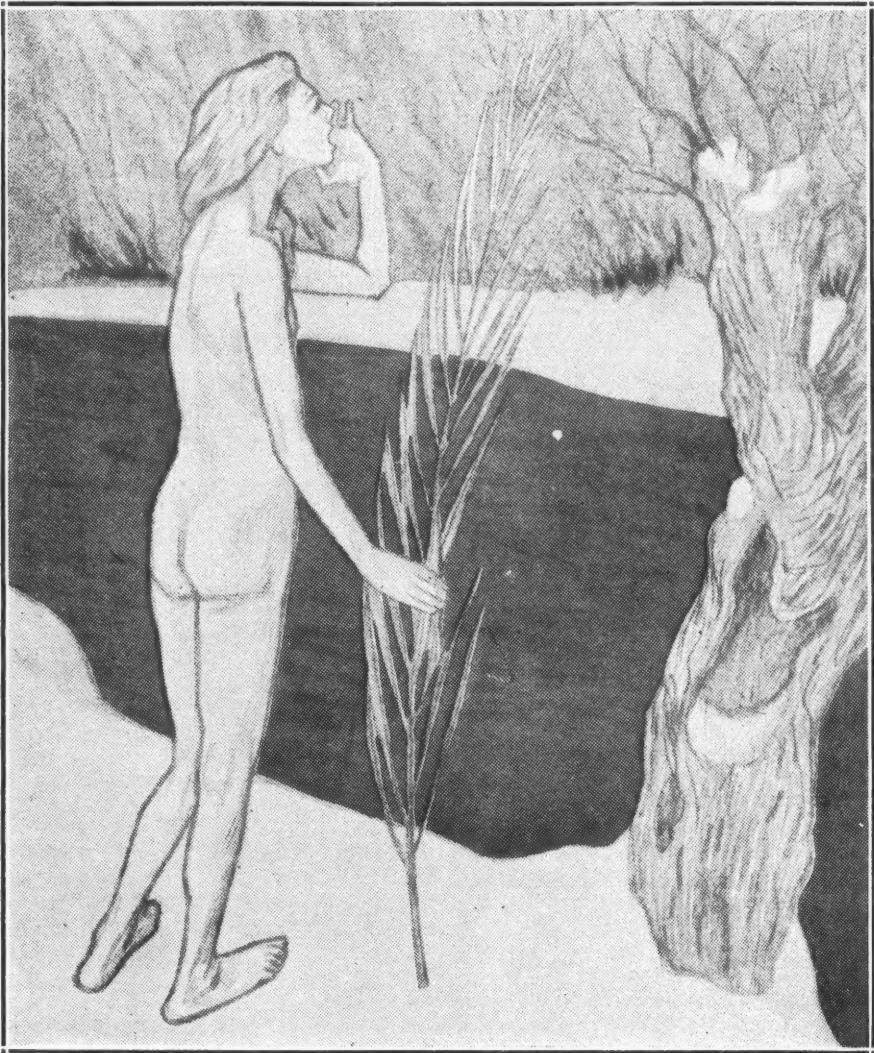
—© Der Brummer, Berlin.

Times are pinching, times are pinching
For you Entente nations;
In the distance looms grim hunger,
For you're short of rations!

Run to Morgan, run to Morgan,
Run like frightened orphans!
All your crowns and lands and rubbish
You must pawn for war funds!

[German Cartoon]

The First Peace Call



—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

"Come over here!..... Nobody answers."

[Polish Cartoon]

The Peace Proposal Trap



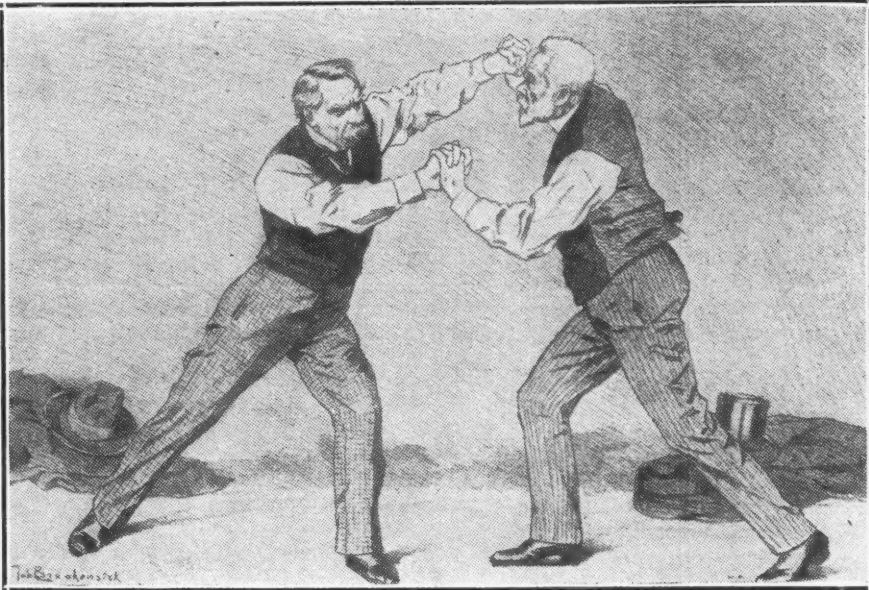
—From Mucha of Moscow, late of Warsaw.

WILHELM: "Well?"

BETHMANN: "It was no go! Not one of the mice showed any sign of entering!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Trial of Strength



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

LLOYD GEORGE
BETHMANN HOLLWEG

} Kneel!!!

[French Cartoon]

Answering Our Peace Note



—Forain in *Le Figaro*, Paris.

FRANCE TO PRESIDENT WILSON: "What would you say if that were New York?"

[German Cartoon]

Our Neutral Friend



—© *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

“Peek-a-boo! Here I am again!”

[Published in Berlin at the time of President Wilson's peace efforts.]

[American Cartoon]

The Only Answer



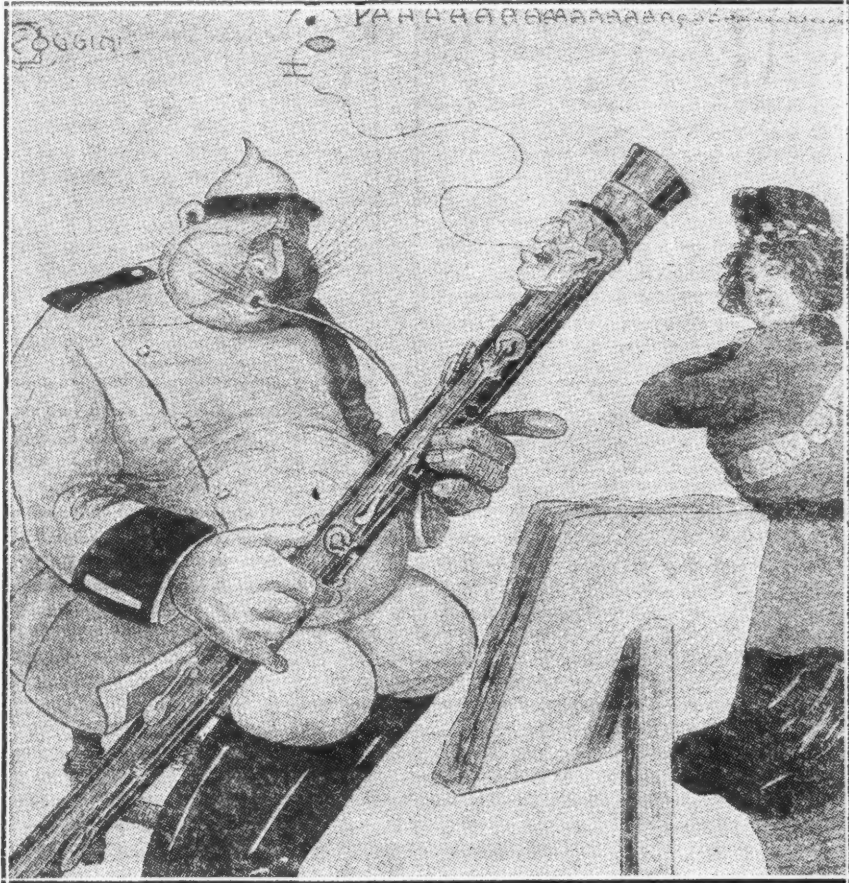
—From The New York Herald.

KAISER: "One day in the week you may go to Falmouth."

UNITED STATES: "Seven days in the week you may go to —!"

[Italian Cartoon]

The American Peace Note



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

The instrument is American, but the music is undoubtedly Wagnerian.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Peace



—From *De Notenkraker*, Amsterdam.

The word that was blotted out.

NOTE.—“Vrede” is the Dutch word for peace.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Chanticleer



—From *De Nieuwe Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

CHANTICLEER (the Kaiser): "At my song the Sun of Peace arises."

[The words coming from his mouth mean "Anti-war conference"]

[Dutch Cartoon]

A Serenade in Vain



—From *De Amsterdammer*.

PEACE (at the window): "It's useless, Fritz! I don't trust you."

[Dutch Cartoon]

The German Hero of Verdun



—From *De Amsterdammer*.

Getting ready for the next job.

[French Cartoon]

Fine Promises

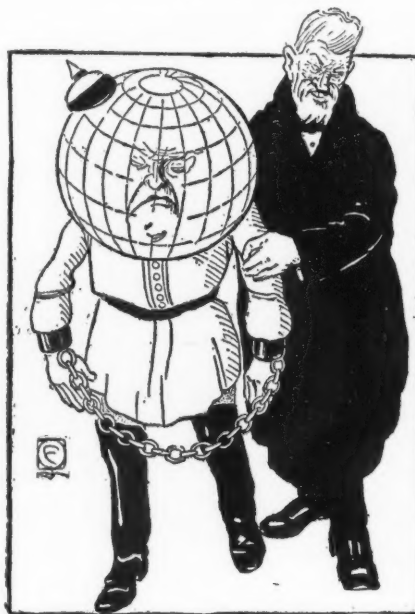


—From *Le Journal*, Paris.

"On our German honor, we will never pass through Switzerland. We swear it by Belgium!"

[Italian Cartoon]

Germany's Program



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

BETHMANN HOLLWEG: "You wish to see our peace conditions? Here you are!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

Herod the Second



—From *Esquella*, Barcelona.

With apologies to Herod the First.

[Russian Cartoon]

In the Name of Progress

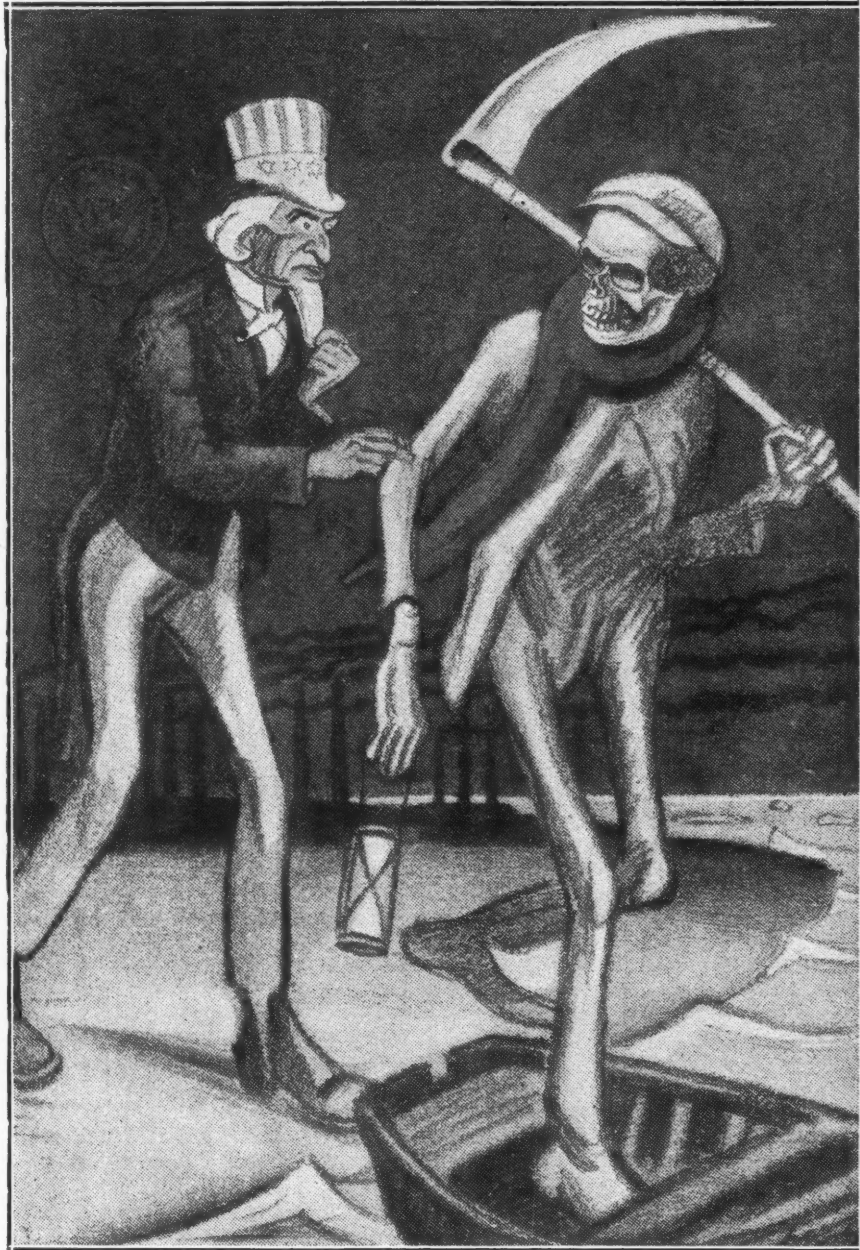


—From *Novi Satirikon*, Petrograd.

KAISER: "My dear Poland, you must be an independent kingdom—I have said it!"

[German Cartoon]

Panic in the Munition Business

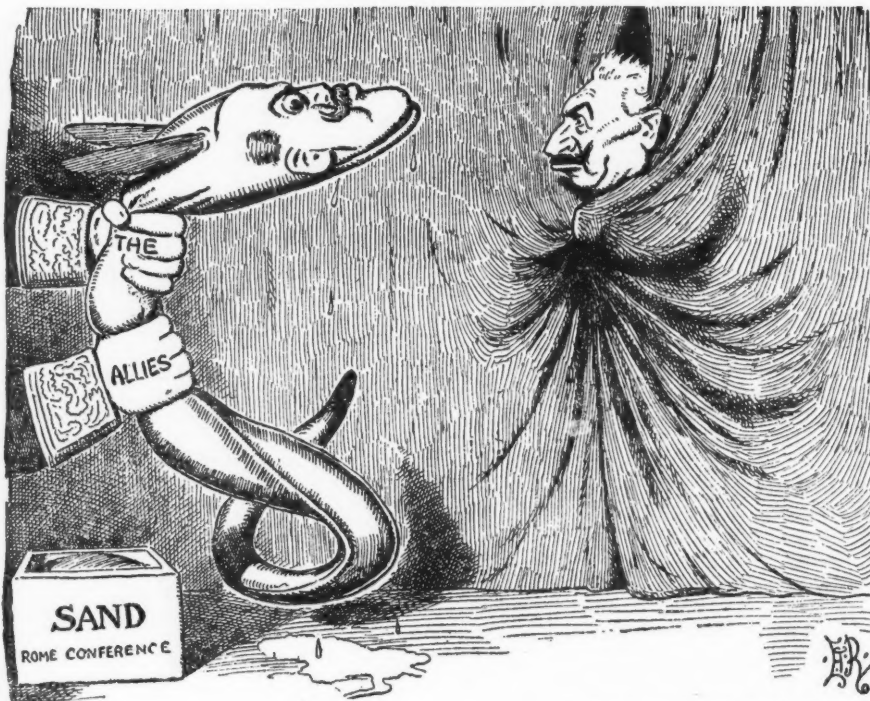


—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

UNCLE SAM TO DEATH: "Why do you wish so suddenly to sever our important business relations?" [Apropos of America's peace efforts.]

[English Cartoon]

The Sanded Eel



—From *The Pall Mall Gazette*.

THE CONCEALED BROTHER-IN-LAW: "Wriggle, Tino! Wriggle! Wriggle like the deuce!"

CONSTANTINE THE SLIPPERY: "Oh, it's all very fine! I think I've done my bit at wriggling; but they've got some *sand* or something now, and it's not so easy, I can tell you!"

[French Cartoon]

Greece Accepts the Ultimatum



—Forain in *Le Figaro*, Paris.

CONSTANTINE, TELEPHONING TO THE KAISER: "I don't see what is troubling you. I have given them nothing but my word."

[German Cartoon]

Sympathy



—© Jugend.

“The more I see of men the happier I am to be an ape.”

[German Cartoon]

Lloyd George

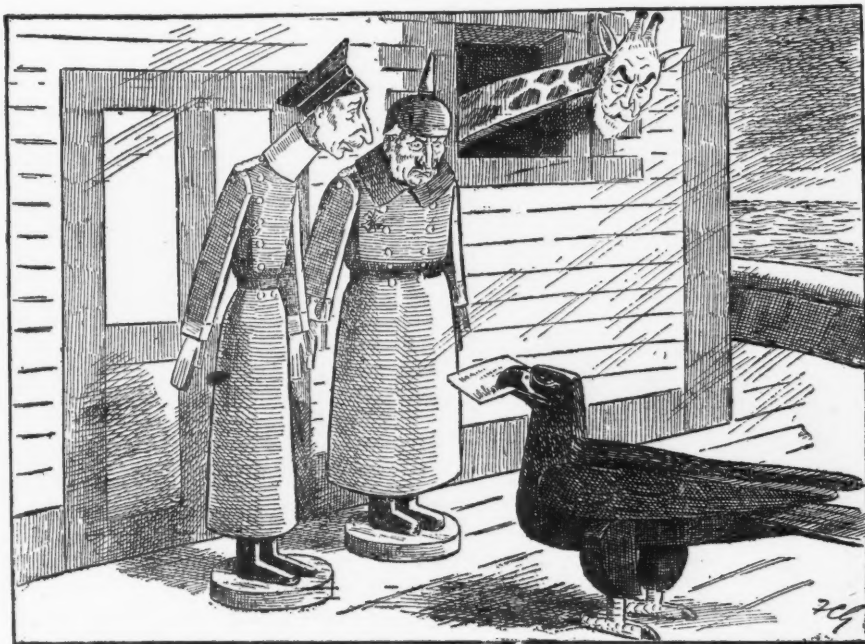


—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

Sensational attraction! England's strongest man appears in his unequaled Entente juggling act!

[English Cartoons]

A Note of Interrogation



—From The Westminster Gazette.

KAISER NOAH: "What has he brought back? An olive branch?"

CROWN PRINCE SHEMA: "No, father; it looks like a note from Wilson."

Sparing the Egg and Spoiling the Omelette



—From John Bull, London.

JOHN BULL: "Yes, the recipe's good, George, as far as it goes, but I don't think the omelette will be a success unless you break the egg."

[American Cartoon]

Uncle Sam's Problem



—From The New York Times.

"One cannot keep peace longer than his neighbor will let him."

Financial Aspects of the War

GERMANY'S HEAVY LOSSES

IT is estimated that the war has cost Germany five billions of trade in relation with enemy allies alone. Her loss in exports to the British Empire was nearly a billion dollars, to France and colonies nearly half as much, and to Russia more than half as much. She has cost in imports from the British Empire, raw materials, produce, and manufactures, near \$600,000,000; over \$700,000,000 from Russia, and from France about \$350,000,000. For the calendar year 1916 the United States Department of Commerce reports total exports of \$2,220,634, imports \$5,819,472. In the last normal year, 1913, our exports to Germany were \$407,266,000, or 15 per cent. of Germany's total imports. Our imports from Germany were \$169,742,000, or 7 per cent.

* * *

OUR FOREIGN TRADE

EUROPEAN countries took 66 per cent. of American exports in 1916. Products shipped to Europe increased 48 per cent. over 1915, and reached a total of \$3,813,621,000. Exports to South American countries almost doubled, increasing from \$144,128,000 in 1915, to \$220,228,000.

Shipments to Asiatic ports more than doubled, leaping from \$149,706,000 to \$363,201,000. Much of the Asiatic shipments, however, went through to Russia, whose European ports were congested with freight much of the year.

All the Northern European neutrals except Norway, took less goods last year than in 1915.

Exports to Japan increased from \$45,000,000 to \$159,000,000, and imports from the same country from \$108,000,000 to \$182,000,000. There was a heavy increase in imports from Europe, and an increase in goods bought from South America from \$322,000,000 to \$427,000,000.

Total values of merchandise exported to each of the principal countries during the twelve months ended December, 1916, compared with corresponding periods of

the preceding year, as reported by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce, follow:

Exports to:	1916.	1915.
Grand divisions--		
Europe	\$3,813,621,077	\$2,573,408,120
North America....	924,653,691	558,803,012
South America....	220,288,188	144,128,681
Asia	363,201,175	149,706,033
Oceania	105,586,523	91,479,767
Africa	54,072,335	37,145,234
Total	\$5,481,423,589	\$3,554,670,847

* * *

ENORMOUS STEEL EARNINGS

THE United States Steel Corporation earned \$105,968,347 in the final quarter of 1916. The full year's income before accounting for sinking fund and depreciation requirements was \$333,625,086, an increase of \$203,273,790 over the preceding twelve months. The gross business in the year 1916 is estimated at \$1,250,000,000.

The year's net revenue was more than twice as large as the next in size, which was 1907, with \$160,964,673, and almost three times as great as 1915. The last quarter by itself exceeded the complete returns of 1914, 1911, 1908, and 1904. The daily earnings of the corporation in the last quarter were \$1,152,000, in the third quarter \$932,000, in the second \$891,000, and in the first three months \$667,000. The size of the daily revenue can be emphasized by drawing comparison with other years, as in 1916 the inflow of money clear of expenses was \$911,000 a day; in 1915, \$357,000; in 1914, \$193,000, and in 1907, the biggest year before 1916, \$441,000. Taking the year through, 1916 brought in each day \$911,000 to the Steel Corporation's coffers.

* * *

ALL OUR TRADE RECORDS BROKEN

THE United States in 1916 became the world's greatest buyer and seller. The nation's exports in 1916 reached a total of \$5,481,000,000, which was far and away a new high record. Compared with 1915, the value of goods sent out of the country showed a gain of \$1,926,000,000,

while the increase over 1913 was \$2,997,000,000. The import trade of \$2,392,000,000 was particularly emphasized by the fact that it exceeded the previous high record, set in 1912, by \$574,000,000, and surpassed the returns of 1915 by \$613,000,000.

The balance of trade was \$3,089,000,000 in favor of the United States, compared with \$1,776,000,000 in 1915.

* * *

GERMAN BANKS IN LONDON

SIR WILLIAM PLENDER, Controller of the London agencies of the five German banks represented in that city, issued a report in January showing:

That on the outbreak of war the assets of the five banks, the Deutsche Bank, the Dresdner Bank, the Direction der Disconto-Gesellschaft, the Oesterreichische Laenderbank, and the Anglo-Austrian Bank, were returned at £23,373,494 and the liabilities at £28,481,007, leaving an apparent deficiency of £5,107,513;

That by Sept. 30 last this deficiency had been reduced by £87,091, to £5,020,422;

That liabilities to British, allied, and neutral subjects to the extent of £27,000,000 had been discharged by Sept. 30;

That the accommodation granted by the Bank of England to these banks in order to enable them to pay off their acceptances had been reduced by the end of September from £11,835,037 to £4,810,823;

That securities valued at £26,000,000 remained in the custody of the banks on Sept. 30;

That detailed particulars of £3,000,000 of these have been furnished to the Custodian, and that the remainder should be lodged by the end of March next.

With reference to the form of the licenses under which the scope of the operations of the banks has been restricted, the Controller says:

The licenses do not indicate whether the banks would or would not be permitted to resume business after the war. No business has been done other than what was necessary to complete transactions of a banking character entered into before August, 1914. The practical effect has been to dis sever and break the relations between the banks and their connections.

* * *

NEW TAX REGULATIONS

THE new revenue law of the United States provides for an impost of 8 per cent. on all excess profits above 8 per cent. on the capital invested; also for the issuance of \$300,000,000 short-term

Treasury certificates. It authorizes the sale of \$331,000,000 Panama bonds, and provides for an increase in the inheritance tax. The new impost and inheritance taxes are expected to yield \$222,000,000. The new inheritance tax begins at 1½ per cent. on the first \$50,000, and increases to 13½ per cent., so that on a \$5,000,000 estate the tax will be \$511,500.

* * *

PROPERTY DESTROYED BY WAR

AT the annual convention of the National Foreign Trade Council in Pittsburgh a committee submitted a report, the result of careful inquiry, showing the value of the property destroyed in Europe by the war. The total is \$5,985,000,000. In France, estimates of the loss have been made by the Government. These, with the reports of our Industrial Commission and other trustworthy statements, were used by the committee. The ships destroyed are not included, and \$3,735,000,000 of the total is assigned to the western war zone. For machinery alone in France and Belgium, to be used in ten specified industries, \$800,000,000 must be expended.

* * *

NEW BRITISH LOAN SUBSCRIPTIONS

THE British Insurance Company subscribed for \$215,000,000 of the new loan, the Prudential taking \$100,000,000. The London County Council took \$35,000,000, Imperial Tobacco Company, \$12,500,000; City of London, \$10,000,000; Lady Werkner, widow of the South African diamond king, took \$10,000,000; Harry Lauder subscribed for \$250,000. The amount of the loan is unlimited. There are two issues, one at 5 per cent.—subject to income tax—issued at \$475, payable \$500 in thirty years, and one at 4 per cent. not subject to income tax, repayable in twenty-five years.

* * *

FLUCTUATIONS OF COTTON MARKET

THE fluctuations in cotton prices on Feb. 1, 1916, the day Germany's submarine order was published, were the most violent on record. May cotton dropped 516 points, compared with the closing figure of Jan. 31; it sold down to 12¼ cents a pound, compared with

FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF THE WAR

21½ cents a pound ninety days previously. The day the war broke out cotton prices dropped 2 cents a pound and upon the announcement of the failure of a large Wall Street house declined another cent. Feb. 1 the drop was over 5 cents. At the time of the Sully collapse, in 1904, the decline was about 2½ cents. May cotton was around 15.75 cents by the middle of February.

* * *

BRITISH INCOME TAXES

INCOMES will pay the following taxes in Great Britain, valuing the pound sterling at \$5:

EARNED		UNEARNED	
Income.	Tax.	Income.	Tax.
\$1,000.....	\$45	\$1,000.....	\$60
1,500.....	101	1,500.....	135
2,000.....	157	2,000.....	245
2,500.....	225	2,500.....	350
3,000.....	312	3,000.....	500
3,500.....	394	3,500.....	630
4,000.....	500	4,000.....	800
5,000.....	625	5,000.....	1,000
7,500.....	1,125	7,500.....	1,557
9,000.....	1,650	9,000.....	2,025
10,000.....	1,834	10,000.....	2,501
15,000.....	3,750	15,000.....	3,750

* * *

IMPORTANT amendments to the currency law intended to permit the Federal Reserve system to increase its gold holdings by \$354,000,000 and also to increase the loan facilities of the system have been agreed upon by the House Committee on Banking and Currency. The amendments materially modify the existing law relating to reserves, authorize the establishment of branch banks in cities of more than 100,000 population, and establish what is virtually a national clearing house system.

* * *

THE third loan placed in the United States by the British Government provided \$250,000,000, making a total of \$800,000,000 borrowed in this country on mobilized securities, which, with her share of the half billion Anglo-French loan, makes the total borrowings by Great Britain in the United States \$1,050,000,000; the loan was eagerly and quickly absorbed on a 6 per cent. basis.

SHIPMENTS OF MUNITIONS

THE following industry table shows the shipments of munitions, or "war order," material during the eleven months' periods of 1914, 1915, and 1916:

	Eleven months ended Nov. 30:		
	1916.	1915.	1914.
Airplanes & parts	\$3,062,463	\$3,930,252	\$245,992
Automobiles ..	89,247,887	88,253,102	24,121,037
Motor cycles ..	2,861,672	2,661,469	1,226,957
Auto parts..	22,243,227	14,878,647	5,228,090
Copper	208,464,223	106,990,065	110,115,168
Gunpowder..	251,406,844	46,721,627	261,904
Explosives..	354,696,366	71,763,697	986,307
Cartridges..	50,552,885	23,147,345	5,468,247
Dynamite...	3,977,236	1,283,847	1,150,742
Rub. mfrs. & auto tires.	31,429,124	21,490,194	10,573,838
Firearms ..	35,465,588	11,212,379	4,053,709
Misc. iron & steel*	168,563,530	50,402,177	14,897,076
Leath. shoes, &c.	144,543,402	140,050,507	57,097,623
Gasoline ...	30,916,853	12,575,128	18,609,450
Wool mfrs. ..	35,917,147	37,645,728	8,309,891
Horses	56,245,731	89,112,007	10,070,842
Mules	25,429,534	21,380,586	564,518
Barbed wire, &c.	49,428,884	22,898,656	7,617,206
Total	\$1,565,052,656	\$772,397,433	\$280,808,597

*Includes empty shells.

* * *

ANALYSIS of food prices in England at the end of 1916 showed that there was an average advance during the year of 42 per cent., and an aggregate advance of 87 per cent. since the outbreak of the war.

* * *

INCREASES of from 5 to 10 per cent. were made in the wages of 1,118,970 workers in November and December of 1916, of whom but 3 per cent. were in munition factories.

* * *

IN the first eight months of 1916 the United States supplied Russia with 33 per cent. of her imports; the shipments were largely made up of munitions, but the foundations were laid for a greatly increased trade. Russia is now in the market for 800,000 tons of American rails.



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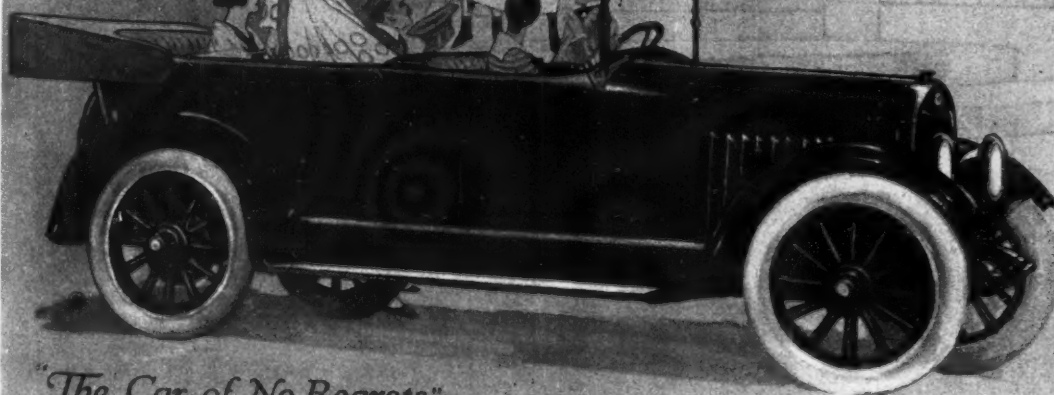


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A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. V.—No. 6

March, 1917

25 Cents a Copy
\$3.00 a Year

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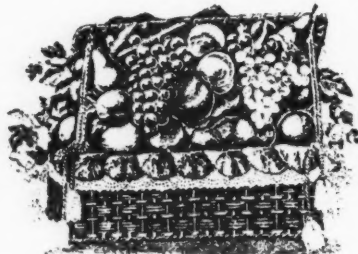
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